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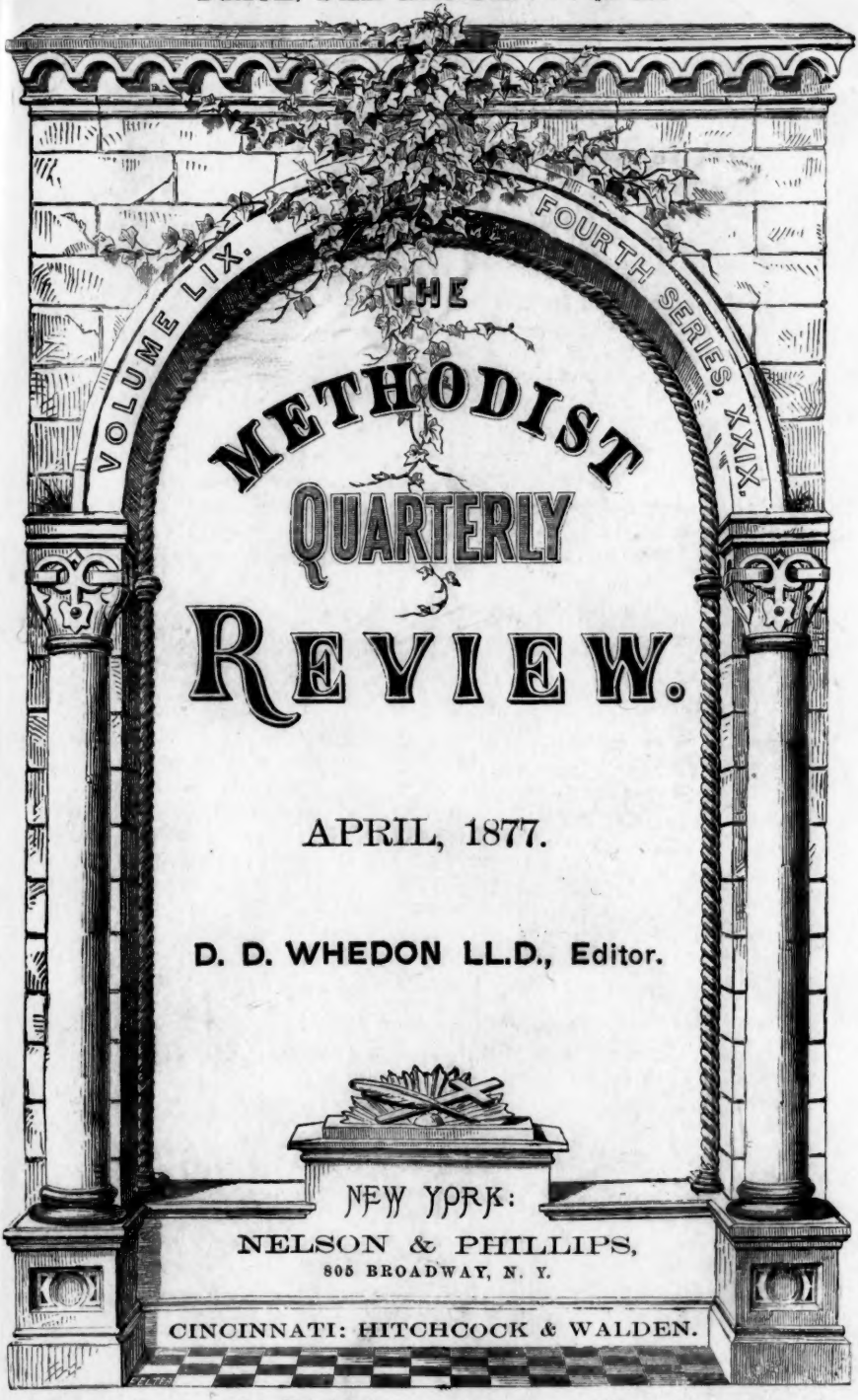

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1877.

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ART. I.—LORD MACAULAY.

The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. By his Nephew, GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, M. P. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

TAKE him "all in all," Lord Macaulay is one of the best examples—we are inclined to say, the best example—of the "literary life" recorded in the history of English literature. As critic, historian, even as poet, orator, and "conversationist," (for he was characteristically "literary" in all,) he may be taken as a type, a very impersonation, of that "elect" life. His political career was long and active enough to render him historical, and pre-eminent above nine tenths of the British statesmen of his day. But his literary life was not incidental to his parliamentary and official life. The latter was but exceptional to the former—a salutary alternative, a wholesome alterative, as medical men would say. Like Addison, whom, above all English writers, save Milton, he most admired, but least imitated in other respects, he was a good example of Coleridge's theory of the literary life—that it should always be associated with some more practical or secular pursuit, which may afford not only a less precarious subsistence, but also the intellectual invigoration that comes of habitual contact with the world. Addison had hardly begun, under the auspices of Dryden, to write fugitive pieces for the public, when he became a party and a pensioned politician. His travels on the Continent, during which he wrote his once famous Epistle to Lord Halifax, and

began his treatise on Medals, his Cato, and the Narrative of his Travels in Italy, were undertaken, at the expense of the Government, as a preparation for its diplomatic service. Nearly all his life he was in Parliament, or in office, in either England or Ireland. The first of his immortal "Essays" were sent from Ireland to Steele, for the Tattler. He was in the Cabinet, as Secretary of State, when he was compelled to retire, by the malady which not long after ended his days; and he died at Holland House, the center of the higher social and intellectual world of London. Addison died comparatively young, aged not forty-eight years; he had ten or eleven years less of life than Macaulay. Had he been permitted to work, in the rich maturity of his powers, through those ten years, he might have achieved as much as Macaulay, and given as crowning a proof of the compatibility of an active public career with the highest style of intellectual culture and literary productiveness.

Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Samuel Johnson, or any other modern Englishman exclusively devoted to literature, can hardly dispute the palm with Macaulay, notwithstanding his active political life. As a poet he was their equal, not excepting Scott. The "Lays of Ancient Rome" have passages of as genuine poetry as can be found in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," or any other of Scott's metrical productions. As a critic he was incomparably their superior. His linguistic attainments, to say nothing of his rare critical acumen, might have enabled him to compete with Johnson, even, as a lexicographer. Few men have been more capable of reproducing the scheme (repeated by Richardson) of Johnson's great dictionary—the exemplification of the use of words by citations from authors. His powers as an historian were far above those of Johnson as a critical biographer, and may well be compared with those of Scott as a histori-novelist. In the versatility, as well as the accuracy, of his knowledge in languages, ancient and modern, in literature of all ages and nearly all nations, in history, in political, and even theological, science, he immeasurably surpassed them. We cannot, indeed, recall another Englishman who so completely represents the literary life—though, of course, scores can be named who have shown more special genius.

It were much to be wished that the example of such men as Bacon, Clarendon, Bolingbroke, Addison, Fox, Burke, Jeffrey, Brougham, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Gladstone, Disraeli, Lubbock, Grote, Bulwer, Derby, Kinglake, and hosts of others in English political life, could be imitated by our own public men. If some of our statesmen have, like Franklin, Jefferson, the younger Adams, Everett and Sumner, carried into public life some devotion to letters or philosophy, few, if any of them, have ever yielded any direct results of such culture after they have once entered the political arena. American politics are an engulfing abyss, fathomless and shoreless. Bancroft, Motley, Bryant, Irving, Hawthorne, and a few others, have kept up their literary aims, with a partial devotion to political or official life; but we have yet to produce a single example of high statesmanship wedded to high and productive literary culture. Gibbon records that he found his experience in a camp of British militia a help to the composition of his great History, and that his intellect was never more vigorous, nor his style more facile, than "in the winter hurry of society and Parliament." His services as Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, and the exhilarating debates of the House, relieved his mind of the fatigue of study, and healthfully stimulated his faculties to resume, the next day, their wonted task. Macaulay's biographer says that "the routine of the Pay-office, and the obligations of the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons, were of benefit to him while he was engaged upon Monmouth's invasion and the Revolution of 1688." His vivid and virile style; the athletic manner, at once graceful and powerful, with which he attacks every difficulty of his subject; his liberal and wholesome temper; his universal humanity, without a tinge of pharisaism or cant—the whole individuality of the man, in fine, spontaneously breaking out on every page, and bearing his reader irresistibly along with him, must be attributed largely to the fact that he was no literary recluse, but a man of affairs, a man of society, "a man of the world," in the best sense of the phrase. There is no figure of more manly bearing in the whole lists of English authorship since the day of Raleigh. His every step is strong and forward, down to the last few years, in which, by the splendid success of the early volumes of his History, he became absorbed in the com-

position of the remainder, retired mostly from public life, declined dinner invitations and society generally, became mortally sick, and began to record in his journals new and startling experiences of low spirits, irresolution in work, and most of those more or less disabling weaknesses of heart and head which, though common enough in the ordinary, exclusive life of literary men, were seldom or never known to him before.

It would be an interesting task to trace, if possible, in his writings and memoirs, the conditions of his vigorous and manifold intellectual life. We attempt this task, not without foreseeing, however, that the limits and necessarily cursory manner of a review article must render it only an attempt.

He built on a good natural basis—the *mens sana in corpore sano.* We need hardly affirm that he possessed that ambiguous something called *genius.* If extraordinary native powers, or special aptitudes of mind, are meant by the word, he certainly had it to a rare degree, for in historical painting, in biographic portraiture, in dramatic effects, he has seldom been equaled. If Buffon's definition of genius is correct, we may still more decidedly claim it for him. The great naturalist, who ranks among his countryman as a literary model as well as a "scientist," defined it to be a habitude of patience in intellectual work. "I trace," he said, in the not ungenial egotism of his old age, "a first sketch, and in doing this I do what a hundred writers in Europe can do. I copy it, and obtain a result which but twenty writers can obtain. I re-copy a second and a third time, and achieve at last what Buffon alone can do." Macaulay has, at least, a "genius" for work; and is not this the most normal and most effective genius for our "work-day planet?" Before his health failed he went to his daily task with the zest with which an epicure goes to a banquet. His biographer says that "he would do nothing against the grain;" but with his healthy and versatile nature nothing (save mathematics and metaphysics) was against the grain. He followed, in this respect, Goethe's theory of education and intellectual life, as taught in "Wilhelm Meister," that the training and work of a man should be in the line of his natural aptitudes, his natural proclivities, these being the instincts of his natural capabilities. Like all healthy minds, he loved labor for its own sake as well as for its sure results. "The pleasure of

writing," he said, "pays itself." He lived in books more than in politics, or in society, or in any thing else. It may be doubted whether any man of his day read more, or more indiscriminately. He devoured books, good, bad, or indifferent. His friend, Sydney Smith, said, "Macaulay not only overflows with knowledge; he stands in the slop." Bad or indifferent books were, at least, of negative advantage to him; they warned him against their own faults. In his usual walks through the streets of London, he wended his way among the crowd, poring over a volume. His research for his writings was tireless, and the minutest or obscurest data, in obsolete periodicals, pamphlets, street ballads, caricatures, seldom eluded his keen glance. He never recoiled from the lowest drudgery of composition. He reconstructed chapters, recast paragraphs, added or erased sentences, for the slightest improvements. In finishing either his manuscript or his "proof," he was fastidious even to the smallest matter of punctuation. He equaled Buffon in labor on his style, and his manuscript pages (an example of which may be seen in the British Museum) were a maze of interlineations, erasures, and blotches. He knew, by experience, the value of Johnson's rule, not to pause in the heat of composition for any verbal matters whatever, but to reserve these for correction when the inspiration of his subject should be exhausted. His usual daily task was, after his first rough draft, to cover six foolscap pages, filling in the outlines, and then to correct and complete them with elaborate care, condensing the six manuscript into two of his printed pages.

Mr. Trevelyan says that "the *secret* of his process lay in this, that to extraordinary fluency and facility he united patient, minute, and persistent diligence." He "never allowed a sentence to pass muster till it was as good as he could make it."

It was in this laborious manner that he acquired his transcendent style—a style so elegant, and yet so impetuous and swift, that it always reminds us of one of its finest examples, in one of the finest passages of his "Lays:"—

> "Now, by our sire Quirinus,
> It was a goodly sight
> To see the thirty standards
> Swept down the tide of flight."

"That is the way of doing business," exclaimed Wilson, (of Blackwood,) though his critical as well as political antagonist —"a cut-and-thrust style; Scott's style when his blood was up, and the first words came like a vanguard impatient for battle." It was Scott's style only when his blood was up, but it was, more or less, Macaulay's habitual style, for his blood was always up when his subject allowed it to be so. His style was like a full-blooded steed on the race-course, fleet, direct, and of simple but splendid proportions. A society of English workmen sent him a vote of thanks for having written a history of their country which they could understand; and yet what English scholar does not read him with enthusiasm for his style, in spite of its occasional obvious defects? Doubtless what we may call his intellectual temperament had something to do with it, for, to cite Buffon again, "the style is the man," or, as he more pertinently has it, "*de l'homme;*" but it was labor, we repeat, that made it the most vigorous and perfect, perhaps, in our literature. It is a dangerous style for imitators, as he himself said; more so than even Johnson's pompous Latinism. He had early to combat its tendency to rhetorical excess. Some of the finest passages of his essays are more or less marred by that tendency. The gorgeous description of Westminster Hall, at the trial of Hastings, shows it. But in spite of it, his healthful temperament and his inexorable self-discipline and labor made him, to both foreign and native readers, the best of English "stylists."

Macaulay was precocious, and his precocity, probably, gave him some eight or ten years' advantage over most students. Intellectual precocity is usually supposed to imply premature decay; but, while some facts favor the supposition, more facts contradict it Most great men have given more or less promise of their greatness in childhood. It is seldom that intellectual greatness is not founded in some original or inborn capability. "The child is father to the man" in this, as in other respects, and human nature is more self-revealing in childhood than in any other period of life. Intellectual precocity, with physical feebleness, may, naturally enough, prematurely break down; but with a sound body it may be an enviable vantage ground. It was so with Macaulay. He was small but robust in stature, with strongly knitted limbs, and broad, rugged features, express-

ive of health and the mental self-command which comes of health. There was little, if any, Gaelic or Celtic blood in him. If not precisely Anglo-Saxon, he was, as both his mental and physical constitution showed, of as good metal; for the Teutonic element was strong in him. His mother was Anglo-Saxon. His father, though a Scotchman, was descended from the old Norwegian invaders who settled in the Western Isles. Carlyle, a genuine Scotchman, discerned at a glance his lineage. "I noticed," he says, "the homely Norse features that you find every-where in the Western Isles, and I thought to myself, 'Well! any one can see that you are an honest, good sort of a fellow, made out of oat-meal.'" One of the feats of his precocious genius was an epic, in his eighth year, on Olaus, the king of Norway, from whom the Scotch clan to which the young writer belonged received its name. Two cantos remain, extracts from which, given by his biographer, show ability astonishing in a child.

Incredible things are told of his early habits and achievements. From his third year he read incessantly, "lying on the rug, before the fire, with his open book on the ground, and a piece of bread and butter in his hand." At other times he would "sit in his nankeen frock, perched upon the table, expounding to the parlor-maid out of a book as big as himself." In his walks with the maid or his mother he would tell innumerable stories out of his own head, using already, as the maid said, "quite printed words." It cannot be doubted that his speech often appeared, as Mr. Trevelyan says, "quite droll." He was carried to the famous Strawberry Hill of Walpole, and ever afterward bore in his head a catalogue of its "Oxford Collection." While there a servant waiting upon the company spilled some hot coffee over his legs. After the kind hostess had done what she could for his relief she inquired how he was feeling. "The little fellow looked up in her face and replied, 'Thank you, madam, the agony is abated.'" He wrote hymns which Hannah More, one of the best friends of the family, pronounced "quite extraordinary for such a baby." Of course, his fond mother, a gentle Quakeress, was delighted with his surprising gifts. She wrote, "My dear Tom continues to show marks of uncommon genius. He gets on wonderfully in all branches of his education, and the extent of his reading, and

of the knowledge he has derived from it, are truly astonishing in a boy not yet eight years old. He is, at the same time, as playful as a kitten. He took into his head to write a Compendium of Universal History about a year ago, and he really contrived to give a tolerably connected view of the leading events from the creation to the present time, filling about a quire of paper. He told me one day that he had been writing a paper which Henry Daly was to translate into Malabar, to persuade the people of Travancore to embrace the Christian religion. On reading it I found it to contain a very clear idea of the leading facts and doctrines of that religion, with some strong arguments for its adoption."

Almost every essay of his shows a minute accuracy of research, of which even his letters and journals abound in examples. He makes particular criticisms and emendations of the original text of his favorite Latin and Greek authors. Besides abundant marginal notes, he pencils, at the end of each drama of the three Greek tragedians, small critical essays, and, judging from the specimens given by Mr. Trevelyan, they show not only good sense and taste, but exact scholarship. He changes his early estimate of Euripides, the representative of the decline of the Attic tragedy, and gives good critical reasons for the change; he places him above Sophocles, the representative of its climax; he exults over the genius of Æschylus, and traces in him the studies of Milton, not without correcting Milton's "sad Electra's poet," by showing that he alluded to the Orestes, not the Electra. Even the dull pages of the Thebaïs of Statius are critically studied, and marked with such observations as "Gray has translated this passage;" "Racine took a hint here;" and "Nobly imitated, and, indeed, far surpassed, by Chaucer." He gives thanks for having been able to "finish" Silius Italicus, (for he "finished" the very fag-ends of Greek and Latin literature,) and remarks that "Pope must have read him before me; in the Temple of Fame and the Essay on Criticism are some touches plainly suggested by Silius." He looks over Coleridge's "Remains," and exclaims:—

What stuff some of his criticisms on style are! Think of his saying that scarcely any English writer before the Revolution used the Saxon genitive, except with a name indicating a living being, as where a personification was intended. About twenty

lines of Shakspeare occurred to me in five minutes. In King John: "Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course." In Hamlet: "The law's delay." In Romeo and Juliet: "My bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne." In Richard III., strongest of all: "Why, then, All Souls' Day is my body's doom's day."

He dines at Baron Parke's, with Brougham, his malicious enemy, and says:—

He was pleasant, but, as usual, excessively absurd, and exposed himself quite ludicrously on one subject. He maintained that it was doubtful whether the tragic poet was Euripĭdes or Euripīdes. It was Euripĭdes in his Ainsworth. There is, he said, no authority either way. I answered by quoting a couple of lines from Aristophanes. I could have overwhelmed him with quotations. "O," said this great scholar, "those are iambics. Iambics are very capricious and irregular, not like hexameters. I kept my countenance, and so did Parke."

Macaulay was seldom, probably never, caught napping, and woe to any pretentious critic who was so found in his presence.

Both the swiftness and the accuracy of his strange acquisitive power were shown in his method of learning a language. He says:—

My way is always to begin with the Bible, which I can read without a dictionary. After a few days passed in this way I am master of all the common particles, the common rules of syntax, and a pretty large vocabulary. Then I fall on some good classical work.

In a few weeks he was reading the classical works as readily as his favorite English books. He proposed to "make himself a good German scholar" on his passage back from India to England, and did so. After reading Luther's New Testament, he plunged into Schiller's Thirty Years' War, and was soon familiar with Goethe, Müller, Tieck, Lessing, and most of the classics of the language. During the years which he spent in India, though he did splendid official work in education and legislation, especially in his "Code," through which he is becoming recognized as the modern legislator of India, he seemed, nevertheless, buried in miscellaneous books. Not even Southey, at Keswick, was more a book-worm, for he could in three hours do more study than most students could do in fifteen. He

went through, critically, nearly the whole course of Greek and Latin authors in serial editions, which Napier, of the Edinburgh Review, had sent out to him, and this besides an incredible amount of French, Italian, Spanish, and English reading. Many of the largest Greek and Latin classics he read over and over again, and meanwhile sent to Napier some of his finest review articles. On his way out to India he kept himself in his state-room, among his books, with the devotion of an old Benedictine monk in his studious cell. He writes:—

Except at meals I hardly exchanged a word with any human being. I never was left so long a time so completely to my own resources, and I am glad to say that I found them quite sufficient to keep me cheerful and employed. During the whole voyage I read with keen and increasing enjoyment. I devoured Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, and English; folios, quartos, octavos, and duodecimos.

Again he says:—

My power of finding amusement without companions was pretty well tried on my voyage. I read insatiably the Iliad and Odyssey, Virgil, Horace, Cesar's Commentaries, Bacon's de Augmentis, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Don Quixote, Gibbon's Rome, Mill's India, all the seventy volumes of Voltaire, Sismondi's History of France, and the seven thick folios of the Biographia Britannica. I found my Greek and Latin in good condition enough.

He proceeds to give striking critical observations on many of these authors, for, rapid as his reading was, it was, nevertheless, by his peculiar faculty of quick apprehension and insight, remarkably thorough.

After being some time in India he writes:—

During the last thirteen months I have read Æschylus twice, Sophocles twice, Euripides once, Pindar twice, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Quintus, Calaber, Theocritus twice, Herodotus, Thucydides, almost all Xenophon's works, almost all Plato, Aristotle's Politics, and a good deal of his Organon, besides dipping elsewhere in him; the whole of Plutarch's Lives; about half of Lucan, two or three books of Atheneus twice, Plautus twice, Terence twice, Lucretius twice, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Sallust, Cesar, and, lastly, Cicero. I am now deep in Aristophanes and Lucian.

Mr. Trevelyan says that these works were read critically, as the penciled notes, covering the margins and blank leaves,

show. He read (page 22) as a mental recreation not only the great masters, but, as we have intimated, the minor and least read of Greek and Latin writers—their poorest remnants—annotating them with learned particularity, but dispatching them with his usual speed. At the conclusion of each volume of his own History he read through, as a relaxation, Herodotus, who, next to Thucydides, was his model historian. He would read through the Melpomene in a single sitting. He read through the last five books of the Iliad "at a stretch, on a walk," and with hearty appreciation. He writes:—

> I could not tear myself away. I was forced to turn into a by-path lest the parties of walkers should see me blubbering for imaginary beings, the creations of a ballad-maker, who has been dead two thousand seven hundred years. What is the power and glory of Cæsar and Alexander to that!

He finished Buckle's first ponderous volume in one day—skimming some parts, certainly, but accurately comprehending the whole, and critically estimating it. Elaborate works, in foreign languages, over which most scholars would pore for weeks, he could dispatch in as many days, closing them often with criticisms important and minute enough to elate the pedantry of a plodding German professor.

We may well again lift a warning voice to youthful literary aspirants who would wish to imitate him. "Admirable Crichtons" are fatal models. Macaulay's example would be ruinous to most students who should attempt to copy it. He was an intellectual anomaly, and had it not been for the rare balance of his mental constitution, he would have been an intellectual monster.

Some of our readers are, doubtless, by this time disposed to suspect that we have been dealing in exaggerations. Not at all; and we proceed to notice another of his characteristics, which was as remarkable as those already treated—his precocity, his genius, his working power, his quickness of apprehension and insight—and which, in union with these, was one of the most important conditions of his intellectual growth and literary success: we refer to his remarkable memory.

In his fiftieth year he writes, "My memory I often try, and find it as good as ever." Two years later he says, "I walked in the portico, and learned by heart the noble fourth act of the

Merchant of Venice." There are four hundred lines in the act; he had known one hundred and fifty of them. In two hours he now made himself master of them all, including the prose letter. This was about three years before his death. The only difference in his wonderful memory between his childhood and this period was that in the former "whatsoever he took a fancy to" was involuntarily remembered; now to learn by heart was a voluntary, but never a laborious, act. It was an intellectual recreation. When made a peer he "studied the peerage," and could repeat the entire roll of the House of Lords. When done with the peerage he turned to the calendars of Cambridge and Oxford, and wrote, "I have now the whole of our university *Fasti* by heart; all, I mean, that is worth remembering—an idle thing, but I wished to try whether my memory is as strong as it used to be, and I perceive no decay." Such acquisitive and retentive faculties are absolutely beyond all estimation for a student. They enable him to work miracles. They relieve him of nearly all the drudgery of scholarship.

Another notable characteristic, the result of these rare powers, was his extraordinary versatility. Our remarks thus far have necessarily anticipated this fact. Its proofs are visible in all his works, and throughout his "Life and Letters." We have mentioned his knowledge of languages. He knew their respective literatures well enough to be a professor of any of them in any university of England, France, Germany, Italy, or Spain. He studied the Portuguese to read Camoëns, but found the Lusiad "enough" for him in that tongue. In a casual conversation at a dinner table he could discuss any of their important authors with critical minuteness, discriminating not only the best plays, but the best characters, in Moliere and Corneille, Goethe and Schiller, Alfieri and Goldoni, or in the almost endless lists of Calderon and Lope de Vega. Nearly every one of his essays is a good example of his versatility, an ample *résumé* of the best students' knowledge not only of the character or subject treated, but of its epoch, summarized with a marvelous tact, and colored by an artist's hand. Thackeray wrote:—

Take, at hazard, any three pages of the essays or history, and, glimmering below the stream of the narrative, you, an average

reader, see one, two, three, a half score of allusions to other historic facts, characters, literature, poetry, with which you are acquainted. Your neighbor, who has *his* reading and *his* little stack of literature stowed away in his mind, shall detect more points, allusions, happy touches, indicating not only the prodigious memory and vast learning of this master, but the wonderful industry, the honest, humble, previous toil, of this great scholar. He reads twenty books to write a sentence; he travels a hundred miles to make a line of description.

We can hardly be surprised that, with such versatility and voracity of appetite for books, he became well acquainted with theological as with all other kinds of literature. Few clergymen have excelled him in the knowledge of their own science and its standard authors. He was familiar with the history and doctrines of the numerous sects of his country. He understood well the great "Methodistic movement," a portion of which his own father represented in the "Christian Observer." Methodists have been, naturally enough, partial to him for his estimate of their founder, of whom he said, in his article on Southey, that he was the founder "of a most remarkable moral revolution, and a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have made him eminent in literature, whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu, and who, whatever his errors may have been, devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered as the highest good of his species." He speaks with contempt "of some writers of books called Histories of England, under the reign of George II., in which the rise of Methodism is not mentioned," and says that in a hundred years "such a breed of authors will be extinct." Mr. Trevelyan says "he was never tired of ranging" in works of "religious speculation," and was "widely and profoundly read in ecclesiastical history. . . . His partiality for studies of this nature is proved by the full and elaborate notes with which he has covered the margin of such books as Warburton's 'Julian,' Middleton's 'Free Inquiry,' Middleton's 'Letters to Venn and Waterland,' and all the rest of the crop of polemical treatises which the 'Free Inquiry' produced. . . . It may be safely asserted that in one corner or another of Macaulay's library there is his estimate of every famous or notorious English prelate from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century."

We have alluded to his rank as essayist, poet, and historian. No one will dispute his unapproachable pre-eminence as a critical essayist. He was first recognized by the literary world in this character, and the recognition was immediate and general. From his first article, (on "Milton," in the "Edinburgh Review,") written in his twenty-fifth year, he was acknowledged as a new power in the intellectual world. The most exclusive circles of London society opened their doors to welcome him, and from that day to his death he was one of the "lions" of the metropolis. He became the chief dependence of the great Scotch review; it was importunate for his contributions, and he could command his own price for them. Murray declared that it would be worth the copyright of Childe Harold to have Macaulay on the staff of the "Quarterly"—the competitor of the "Edinburgh." Nearly every one of his articles produced a sensation through not only the literary and social, but often through the political, circles of the country. They made Brougham rancorously jealous, and eclipsed Sydney Smith, Mackintosh, and even Jeffrey himself. The latter, unlike Brougham, hailed with a sort of rapture the new ascending star, and deeply mourned the departure of Macaulay from England for India; for the veteran editor never expected to see him again. In the collected republication of his essays Macaulay deprecates criticism on his "Milton," and his other early reviews, especially on their youthful enthusiasm; but the world has demanded no apology for them. They are so replete with knowledge and reason—their rhetoric itself has, with whatever faults, such superb yet genuine qualities—that we would not wish them retouched. We have known grave and cultivated men to burst into tears over his vindication of the blind old Puritan bard, who, abandoned of the world, remained superior to it. He did more for the right appreciation of Milton than any other critic save Addison. In this and other writings he has proved to Englishmen that, while they had in Cromwell the greatest of their sovereigns, and in his Roundhead army the greatest of their soldiers, they had, also, in his secretary the sublimest of their poets, and one of the noblest models of British manhood.

Other, and even more surprising, papers than "Milton" followed, all making an impression never before known in English

periodical literature: in his twenty-seventh year that on Macchiavelli, so comprehensive of his epoch and so decisive of the old problem of his "prince;" in his twenty-eighth year that on Hallam's "Constitutional History," so thorough on the religious questions of the times of Elizabeth and the Commonwealth, and so grandly appreciative of Cromwell; that on Southey's "Colloquies," so able in its discussions of political economy; that on Croker's Johnson, so remarkable for its critical corrections, and its estimates of Boswell and Johnson; that on Bunyan, in which he vindicates the high rank of the "Bedford Tinker" among Englishmen of genius; that on Gladstone's "Church and State," in which he has made out the best argument for religious liberty and for the "voluntary principle," though without propounding—perhaps without intending—the latter; that on Ranke's "Popes," so thoroughly appreciative of the era of the Reformation, and of the comparative policies of Popery and Protestantism; that on Temple, in which the notable "Phalaris" fight between Oxford and Bentley, and Bentley's signal victory, are commemorated; the two articles on Clive and Warren Hastings, so comprehensive of the history and policy of British India, and so dazzling in their rhetoric; the masterly articles on Burleigh, Hampden, and Chatham; those on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration; on Byron, Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann, Madame d'Arblay's Life and Letters, and Miss Aiken's Life and Writings of Addison, so full of entertaining information and literary gossip and criticism; and the unrivaled essay on Bacon, in which he drew with as much impartiality as ability the character of the great philosopher, and made the best statement of his system ever given by any of his critics. The latter is the largest and most elaborate of his review articles. It was written in India, and sent to the "Edinburgh" with an apology for its "interminable length." He wrote to Napier, Jeffrey's successor in the editorial chair:—

My opinion is formed, not at second hand, like those of nine tenths of the people who talk about Bacon, but after several very attentive perusals of his greatest works, and after a good deal of thought. I never bestowed so much care on any thing I have written. There is not a sentence in the latter half of the article which has not been repeatedly recast. The trouble has been so great a pleasure to me that I have been greatly overpaid.

Napier sent it to Jeffrey for advice on the propriety of dividing it. Jeffrey wrote back:—

> What mortal could ever dream of cutting out the least particle of this precious work to make it better fit in your review? It would be worse that paring down the Pitt diamond to fit the old setting of a dowager's ring. Since Bacon himself, I do not know that there has been any thing so fine. The first five or six pages are in a lower tone, but still magnificent, and not to be deprived of a word.

It was inserted entire, filling a hundred and four pages of the review.

These essays excited so much interest in America that they were first published here in a collected form. Copies of the edition were sent over "wholesale," and Macaulay diffidently consented to prepare a new collected edition for the English market, in order to protect Longman, his publisher, from the enterprising American house. Mr. Trevelyan says:—

> The world was not slow to welcome, and, having welcomed, was not in a hurry to shelve, a book so unwillingly and unostentatiously presented to its notice. Upwards of a hundred and twenty thousand copies have been sold in the United Kingdom alone by a single publisher. Considerably over a hundred thousand copies of separate essays have been printed in the series known as the "Travelers' Library." More than six thousand copies have, one year with another, been disposed of annually. In the United States, in British India, and the Continent of Europe, these productions, which their author classed as ephemeral, are so greedily read, and so constantly reproduced, that, taking the world as a whole, there is probably never a moment when they are out of the hands of the compositor.

Macaulay's literary reputation became universal by his essays alone. No other man had ever won equal fame by mere review articles. They were a monument seen and read of all cultivated men throughout the Anglo-Saxon world. No one beyond the circle of his immediate friends suspected that he was capable of success in poetry till his "Lays of Rome" appeared. Of course, he cannot be ranked among the great poets, any more than Addison, Johnson, Southey, or Scott can be so ranked; but had he lived before Johnson he would certainly have had a place in the "Lives of the Poets," and a place above three fourths of Johnson's characters. But if he cannot be placed among the gods in the *cella* of the temple, he is entitled

at least to a prominent position among the demi-gods who stand in its exterior niches. The rhythmical instinct was inborn with him, and was as early, if not as thoroughly, developed as in Pope. We have already seen it in his childhood, and throughout his youth he could throw off poetry, or, at least, verses, in the sports of his home, impromptu and without end. But there is often a "fatal facility" in versification, seducing the young aspirant from the deeper things of poetry. It came near spoiling Pope himself. The Horatian lesson of delay and labor can never be disregarded with impunity in this highest department of literary art. Macaulay was the last man to disregard it, and his "Lays," therefore, met with immediate success.

Niebuhr had revived the theory that most of the romantic stories which fill the first three or four books of Livy come from lost ballads of the early Romans. Macaulay was no disciple of Niebuhr, and rather discredited him as an historical critic, but he was fully convinced of the truth of this theory. As a mere literary recreation he attempted, in India, to restore some of these long-lost poems, and the "Lays" sprung from the attempt full-winged. His friend, Arnold of Rugby, a disciple of Niebuhr, saw some of them in manuscript, after Macaulay's return to England, and was so struck with them that he wrote to the author "in such terms of eulogy" as to kindle his ambition for a higher literary fame than he had yet attained; he declined the importunities of Napier for new review articles, and gave himself to the correction and completion of his poems. He bestowed the utmost labor upon them, doing what, perhaps, is the hardest, though the most indispensable, task of the poet—abridging and condensing. He ruthlessly cut out scores of lines—at least thirty out of the battle of Regillus alone. The ancient Roman ballads were, most probably, in the Saturnian meter, pure examples of which have been preserved by the grammarians. It was a proof of the poetic instinct of Macaulay, a proof which could not but cheer him, that his own ballads were, without intention, very like the Saturnian meter. Goethe had succeeded, in his "Iphigenia" and Roman elegies, in reproducing the spirit of classic antique poetry; Macaulay, with less poetic genius, reproduced the Latin legends by recreating the Latin ballads—reproduced them in form and substance, as well as in spirit, not merely by his meter and perfect detail of facts

and allusions, but by the affinities of his own robust nature with the old Roman energy and heroism.

He was anxious about the success of his new venture, but, says his biographer, "the little craft, launched without noise, went bravely down the wind of popular favor." We have already seen Blackwood's opinion of it. Wilson had been his relentless political and literary antagonist. He had sarcastically described him as, "twenty years ago, like a burnished fly, in pride of May, bouncing through the open window of Knight's Magazine"—a short-lived periodical, to which he had been a contributor. He now hailed the "Lays" with "a pæan of hearty, unqualified panegyric." He exclaimed:—

> What! poetry from Macaulay? Ay, and why not? The House pushes itself to hear him, even though Stanley is the cry? If he be not the first of critics, (spare our blushes,) who is? Name the young poet who could have written the Armada. The young poets all want fire; Macaulay is full of fire. The young poets are somewhat weakly; he is strong. The young poets are rather ignorant; his knowledge is great. The young poets mumble books; he devours them. The young poets dally with their subject; he strikes its heart. The young poets are still their own heroes; he sees but the chiefs he celebrates. The young poets weave dreams with shadows transitory as clouds, without substance; he builds realities lasting as rocks. The young poets steal from all and sundry, and deny their theft; he robs in the face of day. Whom? Homer!

For twenty years editions of the "Lays," averaging two thousand copies a year, have been sold, and by the spring of 1875 upwards of a hundred thousand had been issued. They were received by the public not only as an example of his versatility, but as a work of genuine art.

He had a still loftier ambition, and is to be immortal chiefly as an historian. He was not unconscious of his powers for his historical task. Many of his essays had been splendid historical studies; studies in historical biography, at least. Their success could be taken as a presage of the success of his higher undertaking. He had reason, however, for diffidence. The English historians were pre-eminent. They were at the head of the artistic historians of modern literature; and history has its artistic properties as well as the epic or the drama. The Germans excelled in research, but were heavy by the very masses of their *materiale*, and the plodding drudgery of their work-

manship. The French were mostly dramatists and rhetoricians in historical writing, with an occasional exception, like Guizot, in which the "philosophy of history" excluded most of its artistic qualities. The English, with Gibbon—who, in spite of his great faults, stands imperially supreme over all modern historians—at their head, had shown a special genius for the art. There were many giants, if not many artists, among them —Clarendon, Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, Lingard, Thirlwall, Grote, Arnold, Milman, Hallam, not to speak of Alison, Russell, Stanhope, and a host of others. It required not only ability, but courage to step into the ranks of such men. Among good ordinary writers Macaulay could be certain of pre-eminence, but it might be otherwise among the giants. Swift's Gulliver among the Liliputians found that the emperor was taller by about the breadth of his finger-nail than any of his court, "which was enough to strike awe into the beholders." But it required other proportions for distinction among the Brobdignagians. Hume had written English history as a Jacobite, Lingard as a Roman Catholic; Macaulay wrote it as a Whig, believing (and justly, as we think) that the doctrines of British Whig politics are the fundamental ideas of modern civilization and progress. How he succeeded we need not here say; the whole Anglo-Saxon world has said it. It can hardly be questioned that his History, with whatever faults, has done more to promote Whig principles than any other contemporaneous agency. There was no great reform in English politics in which he was not a representative statesman, down to his last year; his History is, and for indefinite time will be, an oriflamme in front of the onward march of the Anglo-Saxon race. Hume will always be read for his entertaining manner, the ease and felicity of his style, in spite of its Scottisms; Lingard (whose ability Macaulay acknowledged in his article on Temple) will always be valuable for his research, and for his qualification of religious prejudices in English historical literature; Macaulay will always be read, not only for his brilliant style, but for his love of liberty and humanity, for his characteristic portraiture, for his dramatic power, and for his perfect mastery of nearly every thing pertaining to his task—especially his exhaustive research, in which he was hardly surpassed by Gibbon himself. Lord Carlisle wrote that "his volumes are full of generous

impulse, judicial impartiality, wide research, deep thought, picturesque description, and sustained eloquence. Was history ever better written? Guizot praises Macaulay." Of "his immense research," said Buckle, "few people are competent judges. I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of his unwearied diligence, of the consummate skill with which he has arranged his materials, and the noble love of liberty which animates his work."

Taken as a whole, Macaulay's work is one of the most genuine examples of historical writing in our literature. He did not much esteem Voltaire's unveracious histories; but Voltaire was the founder of modern history as not a mere record of kingcraft, diplomacy and war, but a record of national life—of laws, manners, and religions. Macaulay's work is a history of the English people as well as their government, and no other writer has so well described them. We have seen how, at the close of each volume, he renewed himself for the next by reading Herodotus, the "father of history," and the greatest of "story-tellers." He read and reread Thucydides, the father of "philosophic history," and pronounced him "the greatest historian that ever wrote." He was acquainted with every other historical model in ancient or modern literature. But, while availing himself of these, he faithfully maintained the individuality of his own genius, and stands conspicuously alone in historic literature. His relative rank we need not try to determine; that is usually a fallacious attempt, and a right which belongs to posterity alone. But that his history will be a permanent monument to his memory no man can doubt.

He knew the importance of little things, of even petty data in the illustration of the life of a people—the eccentricities of character, the sayings of great men, the personal peculiarities of statesmen and kings, the characteristic anecdote, the habits of the common people; and, like Cromwell before the painter, insisted that every feature, and even the wart on the face, should be given. To him George Fox's leathern breeches, and the veriest antics of his honest fanaticism, were essential indications in the genesis of a new form of religion. He disdained no hint which a street ballad could afford him. Having formed with "consummate skill," as Buckle says, his outlines—the chronological skeleton of the earlier historians, made up of

regality, diplomacy and war—he filled it out, giving it body and living blood, by the common facts of the popular life. He feared not the critics, for he knew they would fall before the verdict of the aggregate good sense of the people. He knew that critical pretenders—"his puny detractors," as Buckle again says, "unworthy to loosen his shoe-latchet"—would disparage his facts and call his style irrelevant "fine writing;" but to him no facts indicating the real life of a people were unworthy of history, and nothing worthy of history was unworthy of the best literary art. Some one said to Dr. Johnson that he surpassed all his competitors in writing biography. "Sir," replied the veteran author, "I believe that is true; the dogs don't know how to write trifles with dignity."

As he wrote for the people, though in the highest style of the art, the people gave him a recognition such as no other historian has ever received. "Within three days after the appearance of the book," says Mr. Trevelyan, "its fortune was already secure. It was greeted by an ebullition of national pride and satisfaction." Three competing editions were quickly published in the United States. Our own Harpers wrote him that "no work of any kind has ever so completely taken our whole country by storm." Edward Everett wrote him that "no book has ever had such a sale in the United States, except the Bible, and one or two school-books of universal use." Tauchnitz, in Germany, had sold ten thousand copies (in English) within six months after the third and fourth volumes appeared. Six rival translators were at work, at one and the same time, turning it into German. There have been Polish, Danish, Swedish, Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish, Hungarian, Russian, Bohemian, and even Persian versions. He had said, "I shall not be satisfied unless I produce something which shall for a few days supersede the last fashionable novel on the table of young ladies." His biographer says that "the annual sale of the History has frequently, since 1857, surpassed the sale of the fashionable novel of the current year." "Within a generation of the first appearance of the work, upward of a hundred and forty thousand volumes will have been printed and sold within the United Kingdom alone." Twenty-six thousand five hundred copies were sold in ten weeks. "I should not wonder," wrote Macaulay, "if I made twenty thou-

sand pounds ($100,000) clear this year by literature. His publishers actually deposited in the bank for him a hundred thousand dollars, "as part of what would be due him in December" of that year. "What a sum," he exclaimed, "to be gained by one edition of a book!" At another time he speaks of receiving thirty thousand dollars in a single year. Longman could hardly keep pace, sometimes, with the demand for the work. Twenty-five thousand copies of the third volume were ordered before the day of publication. The stock at the book-binder's was insured for fifty thousand dollars. "The whole weight was fifty-six tons!" "No such edition was ever published of any work of the same bulk."

We cannot spare room enough to speak of him adequately as a statesman and parliamentary orator, for, as we have intimated, he stands pre-eminent above nine tenths of contemporary British statesmen, and would be historical in this character, aside from his literary fame. It is a proof of the generous instincts of his heart that he early broke away from the prejudices of his Tory education; for, curious as the fact may seem, his father, Zachary Macaulay, the philanthropist, the anti-slavery leader, and the editor of the evangelical "Christian Observer," was inclined to Tory politics. Zachary Macaulay was one of the "good men of Clapham," commemorated in Methodist history as the Calvinistic Methodists in the Low Church party of the Establishment, who had arisen under the religious movement conducted by Wesley, Whitefield, and the Countess of Huntingdon. Though leaders in most of the philanthropies of the day, these good men were inclined to Tory politics by their dread of the Jacobinism of the French Revolution, which had considerably infected England. Macaulay while yet at the university emancipated himself from their prejudices, but retained through life their best political ideas. Though he believed, with Buckle, that expediency, or "compromise," must be fundamental in any successful administrative policy, yet he held the boldest theoretical political ethics, and fearlessly avowed his theories and their consequences. The old English common sense dominated in all his speculations, and if he believed that a given public evil should be exterminated root and branch, yet he deemed it a violation of not only political sagacity, but of political ethics, to take to-

day, by assault and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, a fortress which would have to surrender at discretion to-morrow; and that many a good cause famously won might have been better won. In other words, he was a genuine statesman. He came into public life, and remained till his death, an unwavering reformer. He was found at the front in the fight of every great Parliamentary question of his times—the Antislavery question, the Reform bill, the India bill, the Franchise bill, the Factory bill, West India Apprenticeship, the Ballot, the Corn Laws, Catholic Emancipation, Jewish Disabilities, Copy-right. He was virtually the author of the Copy-right Law, which now protects British authors and their families—the "charter of his craft"—after the defeats of Talfourd and Lord Mahon in the same good cause. A speech of remarkable logic and lucidity rallied the House to his position with enthusiasm. Peel walked across the floor, and told him that within twenty minutes his views on the question had been entirely altered; and one member after another of the opposition acknowledged a similar change.

He was one of the most eloquent speakers in Parliament, without being precisely an orator. His first public speech was at a London antislavery meeting, in his twenty-fourth year. He was surrounded by the good men of Clapham on the platform, his anxious father among them. The "Edinburgh Review" spoke of the speech as "a display of eloquence so signal for rare and mature excellence that the most practiced orator may well admire how it should have come from one who then for the first time addressed a public assembly." "It was hailed with a whirlwind of cheers," says his biographer. "That was probably the happiest hour of Zachary Macaulay's life." When Wilberforce rose to speak, he said of the father:—

> My friend would doubtless willingly bear with all the base falsehoods, all the vile calumnies, all the detestable artifices, which have been aimed against him to render him the victim and martyr of our cause, for the gratification he has this day enjoyed in hearing one so dear to him plead such a cause in such a manner.

After the first of his Parliamentary "reform" speeches the Speaker of the House sent to him, and "told him that in all his prolonged experience he had never seen the House in such an excitement." Denman, who spoke afterward, "said with

universal acceptance that the orator's words remained tingling in the ears of all who heard them, and would last in their memories as long as they should have memories to employ." Peel remarked that "parts of the speech were as beautiful as any thing I ever heard or read. It reminds one of the old times." "The names of Fox, Burke, and Canning were," says his biographer, "during that evening in every body's mouth." Jeffrey, who heard him later on the same subject, said his speech "was prodigiously applauded, and I think puts him at the head of the great speakers, if not the great debaters, of the House." Mackintosh wrote from the library of the House, "Macaulay and Stanley have made two of the finest speeches ever spoken in Parliament;" he pronounced them "the chiefs of the next, or, rather, of this, generation." Lord Althorp said of one of his speeches, that "it was the best he had ever heard." Graham, Stanley, and Russell made similar remarks, and O'Connell followed him out of the House to "pay him most enthusiastic compliments." The "principal men" on the Whig side "agreed that it was the best ever made since the death of Fox." Of his speech on the India bill one of the speakers said, "I will venture to assert that it has never been exceeded within these walls."

It is the uniform testimony of those who heard him that he owed nothing to the usual artifices of the orator. He had few gestures and little inflection of the voice. "Vehemence of thought, vehemence of language, vehemence of manner, were his chief characteristics," says the "Daily News." It was "fullness of mind, which broke out in many departments, that constituted him a born orator." He "plunged at once into the heart of the matter, and continued his loud, resounding pace from beginning to end, without pause or halt." "Macaulay," says another witness, "was wonderfully telling in the House. Every sentence was perfectly devoured by the listeners."

Cicero says the orator should be a good man, for the popular conviction of his integrity gives sevenfold force to all he says. Macaulay's unquestionable honesty made him mighty. He resigned office in the ministry in order to make, honorably, a speech against a bill of the Government—of his own party; but the cabinet had the good sense not to accept his resignation. He lost his election in Edinburgh rather than yield to a Scotch

religious prejudice; but his constituents became, in time, ashamed of their conduct, and re-elected him with honors, and proudly kept him till the infirmities of his last years compelled him to retire, when they took leave of him with demonstrations of affection and admiration. Sydney Smith said that he was absolutely incorruptible; that no money, no title, ribbon, or coronet, could change him.

Pre-eminent in so many respects, he was almost equally so as a "conversationist." Never in the saloons of Paris, from the days of Rambouillet down to ours, nor in the circles of London, not excepting Johnson's Club, with the "great moralist," and Burke, Reynolds, and Goldsmith around its table, had conversational talent been more a social power than during the life of Macaulay. Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Sydney Smith, Rogers, Mackintosh, Carlyle, Brougham, Milman, Dickens, Thackeray, and many others, were his rivals, but hardly his equals, much less his superiors, in the "table-talk" of the metropolis. If Coleridge, with his interminable monologues, was their oracle in philosophy, Sydney Smith and Charles Lamb their oracles in humor, Macaulay was their supreme oracle in universal knowledge and criticism. Crabb Robinson, whose entertaining autobiography gives, perhaps, our best view of the best London society of this period, alludes to Macaulay's earliest appearance in it, about his twenty-sixth year, and says: "I had a most interesting companion at the table in young Macaulay, one of the most promising of the rising generation I have seen for a long time: very eloquent and cheerful, overflowing with words, and not poor in thought, he seems a correct as well as a full man. He showed a minute knowledge of subjects not introduced by himself. He was a good example of Bacon's well-known remark in all its three particulars: 'Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man.'" Lord Carlisle's Journal gives many a fine picture of Macaulay at the London symposia. "Never," he says on one occasion, "were such torrents of good talk as burst and sputtered over from Macaulay and Hallam." At a breakfast with Macaulay he says: "The conversation ranged the world—art, ancient and modern; the Greek tragedians; characters of the orators. It is a refreshing break in commonplace life. I stayed till past twelve." At another time, "Macaulay rather para-

doxical, as he is apt to be. The greatest wonder about him is the quantity of trash he remembers. He went off at a score with Lord Thurlow's poetry." Again, "Macaulay's flow never ceased once during the four hours, but it is never overbearing." Again, "On being challenged, he repeated the names of the owners of the several carriages that went to Clarissa's funeral." Though never overbearing, in temper, at least, yet in the affluence of his thoughts he was disposed, like Coleridge, to usurp the conversation. Sydney Smith, whom he could usually overwhelm, once remarked to him with mock pathos, "Macaulay, what a loss you will suffer when I die, having never heard me converse." Lord Carlisle describes a scene in which Macaulay, Hallam, and Whewell, discussing, too, a grave ethical question, got so high ("without, however, the slightest loss of temper") that when his lordship left the table "not one sentence could any of them finish." Says Mr. Trevelyan:—

His appearance and bearing in conversation were singularly effective. Sitting bolt upright, his hands resting on the arms of his chair or folded over the handle of his walking-stick, knitting his great eyebrows if the subject was one which had to be thought out as he went along, or brightening from the forehead downward when a burst of humor was coming, his honest glance and massive features suited well with the manly, sagacious sentiments which he set forth in his pleasant, sonorous voice, and in his racy and admirably intelligible language.

But, brilliant as he was in society, his absorption in literature made his library far more attractive to him than any dinner party. He at last had a thorough "distaste for the chance society of a London drawing-room," and almost entirely abandoned it, as he "also relinquished that House of Commons, which the first sentence of his speeches hushed into silence, and the first five minutes filled to overflowing." He consecrated his last years to his History. He became a devotee of the "literary life," of which, as we said in the outset of our article, he is one of the most admirable examples in English literary history, and in which we have endeavored chiefly to consider him. Finally, giving up politics, as well as society, he lived almost exclusively in his library, and the circle of his immediate kindred. He found genuine happiness in this literary consecration, for every virtue, as well as every muse, dwelt with him there. Gibbon said that he would not exchange his enjoyment

of books for the riches of the Indies: Montesquieu declared there was no trouble, no chagrin, he could not get rid of in his library; Lessing said that if the alternatives were offered him, by the Creator, to acquire knowledge immediately by intuition, or in his usual way, by laborious study, he would choose the latter, for study is itself a felicity. Says Mr. Trevelyan:—

Macaulay's way of life would have seemed solitary to others, but it was not to him. While he had a volume in his hands he never could be without a quaint companion to laugh with him or laugh at, a counselor to suggest wise and lofty thoughts, and a friend with whom to share them. When he opened for the tenth or fifteenth time some history, or memoir, or romance, every incident and almost every sentence of which he had by heart, his feeling was precisely that which we experience on meeting an old comrade whom we like all the better because we know the exact lines on which his talk will run.

He wrote from India:—

Books are becoming every thing to me. If I had this moment my choice of life I would bury myself in one of those immense libraries that we saw together at the universities, and never pass a waking hour without a book before me.

He found, as he said, that a "book is the best of anodynes" for hours of suffering. A bibliomaniac is never a pessimist. His strong affections rendered the death of his youngest sister almost a fatal blow to him. When the sad news reached him in India, he wrote:—

That I have not sunk under this blow I owe chiefly to literature. What a blessing it is to love books as I love them; to be able to converse with the dead and live among the unreal.

He wrote still later:—

Literature has saved my life and my reason. Even now I dare not, in the intervals of business, remain alone for a minute without a book in my hand. I am more than half resolved to abandon politics, and give myself wholly to letters.

No man has left us more delightful experiences of the pleasures of literature. In his library he could summon around him the great bards, to chant to him their immortal lays; the great historians, to recite their narratives; the great orators, to exhilarate him with their eloquence; the great novelists, to entertain him with their stories; the great travelers, with whom he could

traverse the world without leaving his fireside, and witness the wonders, without sharing the perils, of their adventures. A good library was to him the best of material provisions for happiness, and a good author the best of companions. In his essay on Bacon he eloquently says:—

> These friendships are exposed to no danger from occurrences by which other attachments are weakened or dissolved. Time glides on, fortune is inconstant, tempers are soured, bonds which seemed indissoluble are daily sundered by interest, by emulation, or by caprice; but no such cause can affect the silent converse which we hold with the highest of human intellects. The placid intercourse is disturbed by no jealousies or resentments. These are the old friends who are never seen with new faces, who are the same in wealth and in poverty, in glory and in obscurity. With the dead there is no rivalry; in the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen, Cervantes is never petulant, Demosthenes never comes unseasonably, Dante never stays too long; no difference of political opinions can ever alienate Cicero, no heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet.

It was befitting that such a man should die in his library. He was found dead, says his biographer, "in his library, seated in his easy chair, and dressed as usual, with his book on the table, still open." He died in his sixtieth year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where, amid the monuments of Addison, Johnson, Gray, and Goldsmith, his tomb bears the inscription, "His body is buried in peace, but his name liveth for evermore."

We have endeavored, as we proposed, to trace, in his memoirs and writings, the chief conditions and most salient facts of his manifold intellectual life, without restricting ourselves mechanically to any chronological order. We should not be willing to take leave of him without saying something on his religious character, but his biographer is strangely reticent respecting it, giving hardly an intimation on the subject. We regret this singular defect in a work which we can, nevertheless, commend as one of the most able and most entertaining of recent biographies.

ART. II.—THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW ON "THE RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN."

THE facts which I submitted to the public nearly two years ago in my work entitled "The Recent Origin of Man" have been criticised in various periodicals, especially in England, by writers entertaining mostly a different opinion from my own; and I have watched with some interest—not with anxiety—to see what reply would be made to them. I set out to study this subject of the antiquity of man with little expectation of arriving at a different conclusion from that which had been reached by such great authorities as Sir Charles Lyell, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Prestwich, Mr. Boyd Dawkins, M. Edouard Lartet, M. de Mortillet, Nilsson, Worsaae, and a host of others in all parts of Europe, and by Professor Agassiz, Professor Cope, Dr. Daniel Wilson, Dr. Foster, etc., in America. I presently began to suspect that they were mistaken, and the continuance of my investigations subsequently strengthened this impression. From that day to this, some five years, during which I have devoted a vast deal of time and labor to the subject, as my knowledge has enlarged, and as the facts have accumulated, I have become more and more clearly convinced that the science of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology is an elaborate and baseless delusion, which has led astray many of the most eminent scientific men of the world. The generalizations have been hasty, and the edifice has been hurried to completion without proper attention to the foundation on which it was erected. The Danish archæologists, without due consideration, led the way in these premature conclusions, propounding, upon the special facts applicable only to a very limited district in Europe, their theory of "The Three Ages." In the same manner Sir Charles Lyell, and Mr. Evans, and Sir John Lubbock, and the French archæologists after the visit of the English scientists to the valley of the Somme in 1860, adopted without sufficient consideration the theory of the high level and low level gravels, and the excavation of the valley of the Somme since the deposition of the former by the Somme river, an inconsiderable, sluggish stream, some fifty feet in width.

The argument for the antiquity of man rests upon the theory of three successive, protracted ages, designated the Stone Age, (divided into two periods,) the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, which ages have their respective relics revealed to us in the Megalithic Monuments of Europe, in the Pile Villages, in the Danish Shell Mounds, in the Peat Deposits, in the Bone Caverns, and in the River Gravels of the river valleys of Europe.

The oldest barrows and cromlechs have been conjectured to be contemporaneous with Menes, the first king of Egypt, who was supposed to have lived about thirty-five hundred or four thousand years before our era. The older lake dwellings or pile villages belonged also to the Second or Polished Stone Age, and were represented to be at least six or seven thousand years old; indeed, Professor Agassiz considered that their antiquity was so high that they "connected humanity with geological phenomena." The lower beds of the peat belonged to the same period. Sir C. Lyell declined to indicate any approximate date for the peat of the Somme valley, but, following M. Boucher de Perthes, he intimated that the growth of these beds, which are more than thirty feet thick in some places, seemed to have been at the rate of three centimetres (one and one fifth inches) in a hundred years. The shell mounds are thought by Sir John Lubbock to belong to the transition period between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages. The caves and the river gravel belong to the First Stone, or Palæolithic, Age, and are supposed to be from one to five hundred thousand years old. For we find here rude flints, evidently worked by man, and also (in the caves) beautifully worked implements of horn and bone, and in each case these works of art are in association with the bones of the mammoth, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the reindeer, the cave bear, the great Irish elk, and other extinct animals; and, further, it was represented that the rivers had excavated their valleys since the "high level" gravels were laid down. It was further urged that great changes in the relative level of land and sea had taken place since the days of the mammoth; and it was also pointed out that in the bone caves thick floors of stalagmite had formed over the relic beds, which stalagmite must have required, it was alleged, thousands of years to be deposited.

Sir Charles Lyell and Mr. Evans mention this as one of the proofs of the great antiquity of these relics, and Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace calculates that it took five hundred thousand years for the stalagmitic floors to form in Kent's Cavern; while Mr. Vivian, at the meeting of the British Association in 1871, asserted that it must have taken a million of years for these two floors to form.

These are the points, and I undertook to meet them. In doing so I collected a vast multitude of facts, and swelled my book to six hundred pages, determined to give the evidence in full, at the risk of making my work tedious.

I have published a short piece in England in reply to Mr. Boyd Dawkins, but I have not noticed any criticisms which appeared in this country in any way.

As my book has recently been reviewed, however, in the "Westminster Review," which has a high standing in England, and is reprinted in this country, and as a review has, moreover, recently appeared in *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, one of the leading anthropological periodicals of France, I desire to say something more formal in reply; and at the same time I may take occasion to notice again, if space permits, the review by Mr. Dawkins, published in "Nature."

I have taken the pains to state the grounds on which the geologists and archæologists rely as the proof of the antiquity of our race, in order to indicate the points which ought to be grappled with in any discussion of this subject.

Now I affirm that all of my English and American critics have failed to handle these points, and have offered no reply to the facts I have adduced under most of these heads.

The "Westminster" reviewer addresses himself chiefly to a criticism of some preliminary remarks I make on Egyptian chronology, and assails the chronology of Usher, and comments on the limited time I allow for the dispersion of mankind, and kindred topics. This is a very interesting subject, but it was touched only incidentally in my book, and I expressly, in my preface, as well as afterwards, cut off all such discussion by granting that the human period may have begun ten thousand years ago. I do not think that it did, but I did not wish to embarrass the subject with questions about the precise biblical chronology. I make some mention, it is

true, of probable dates, as B. C. 2700 for the beginning of Egyptian history; but I expressly refrain from committing myself explicitly, and in any case it was only a casual allusion in the first chapter, and aside from the main theme I proposed to discuss.

Before entering upon more important topics, I wish to say that the reviewer repeatedly misstates my positions.

1. He makes me say that the human race is only six thousand years old. I do not say so. Six or eight I do not object to.

2. On page 47 (English edition) he says that I regard the palæolithic implements "as pre-glacial or antediluvian." There is not a line to this effect in my book. On the contrary, I argue distinctly and expressly against Mr. Geikie's pre-glacial man.

3. On page 48: "Mr. Southall calls upon us to believe things more astonishing still, when he asserts that in two or three hundred years, at the most, after all mankind, excepting eight persons, according to his belief, had been cut off by the universal deluge, all the great kingdoms of the East had risen to the height of their power, filled with peoples of distinct races, . . . while at the same time people of the same descent had forgotten all this splendor, and were hunting the mammoth in Scotland in naked freedom, oblivious of Memphis and Babylon."

I am here made to believe, without any ground for it whatever, in a universal deluge.

I am made to say, further, that "all the great kingdoms of the East had risen to the height of their power in two or three hundred years, *at the most*," after the flood. I suggest 2400–2200 B. C. for the fourth Egyptian dynasty, (supposed to have been contemporary with the third,) and I remark in italics, on page 18, that "human history commenced about forty-five hundred or five thousand years ago." This, instead of "two or three hundred years, at the most," for the interval in question, would give eight hundred years, which is abundantly long, as the post-diluvians, of course, inherited, through Noah, the civilization of the antediluvians.

The brief sentence quoted contains a third blunder on the part of the reviewer. He speaks of "hunting the mammoth

in Scotland." Now, the mammoth never was hunted in Scotland, for, as I show in my thirty-second chapter, (and with this Lyell agrees,) palæolithic man never entered Scotland; he was kept out of it by the ice. No palæolithic tools are found in Scotland, Denmark, or Sweden.

4. On page 55 I am represented as stating that the "potter's wheel was unknown until the time of the Romans." I make no such statement; what I say is, that it was not known in northern and western Europe until the Romans introduced it. The potter's wheel was known to the Egyptians and Assyrians and Hebrews, and Dr. Schliemann found various traces of it at Hissarlik.

5. On page 61 I am represented as suggesting that a certain subterranean aqueduct (see page 252 of my book) "was constructed in tertiary times." This would place me in the attitude, in a work written to prove "the recent origin of man," of representing that our ancestors were living, and occupied in works of drainage, or water supply, in the Pliocene Age. A reviewer in a periodical of the character of the "Westminster" ought not to be ignorant of the facts he writes about; it is still more to be expected that he shall not, through carelessness or mental dullness, absurdly distort the plain meaning of the text he is engaged in dissecting.

6. On page 47 the writer remarks that he "believes no chronology places the flood earlier than B. C. 3000," etc. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the Septuagint fixes the date of the flood at about B. C. 3200.

I will now proceed to notice some of the positions taken by the reviewer.

1. On page 45 he expresses the opinion that the Palæolithic Age covered two distinct periods, represented by the rude implements of the river gravels and the presence of the cave bear, and by the much finer work of most of the caves, and the presence of the mammoth. It is M. Lartet's Cave Bear Epoch and Mammoth Epoch. It is only necessary in reply to this to say that this division is rejected by Sir John Lubbock, by Mr. Evans, and by Mr. Dawkins. The latter observes: "The classification will apply, as I have shown in my essay on the pleistocene mammalia, neither to the caves of this country, of Belgium, nor of France, and my views are shared by M. de

Mortillet, after a careful and independent examination of the whole evidence." *

2. The main and capital point which the reviewer urges, however, is this: that if the post-diluvians, as represented in Scripture, set out with a knowledge of the arts of life, and were dispersed over the face of the earth, he does not understand how the palæolithic people of Western Europe "forgot so soon the use of the metals, which must have been known in the ark, and used in building the tower of Babel, as well as the Pyramids." This involves the question of the diversity of type observable among the races of mankind, which diversity appears to have existed from a very early period, and is akin to the other difficulty which has been raised, about the divergence of language and the rapid development of so many different languages among the families of mankind. These questions are barely touched upon in "The Recent Origin of Man," for the reason that the author has in view another class of topics, namely, the discoveries of the relics and traces of man in the river gravel, the bone caves, etc. It would have led him too far away from his subject to have gone deeply into these other questions, which would of themselves require a volume for their elucidation. His work is intended as a reply to the books of such writers as Sir John Lubbock and Sir C. Lyell; and these authors merely give to the points now mentioned a passing consideration; indeed, Lubbock hardly refers to them.

And, waiving any attempt at any explanation of them on natural principles here, it is sufficient, so far as Language is concerned, to say that those who believe in the Bible have an adequate explanation of the diversity of tongues in the statement which is made in connection with the attempt to build the tower of Babel—a statement supported by the Chaldæan records. The diversity of races may have occurred in a similar manner. The descendants of Noah may have been characterized in a few generations by marked diversities of type, of which, indeed, there is some intimation in the biblical narrative. The same divine power which confounded the languages of men may have established, with an eye to a future multiformity in humanity, emphatic differences, physical as well as spiritual, among those who were to be the primeval stocks from

* "Cave-Hunting," p. 352.

which the nations of the earth should proceed. Is this improbable? It is only necessary to mention, in reply, Jacob, the great progenitor of the Jews, and Ishmael, the great progenitor of the Bedouin Arabs. The peculiarities of the latter, at least, were, in express language, embodied and anticipated in the son of Hagar.

Or it may be, as Archdeacon Pratt suggests, that the diversity of type originated *before* the flood; the three sons of Noah may have married wives of dissimilar types.

But how, then, shall we account for the non-employment of the metals by the Stone Age people of Western Europe?

In the first place, we may suppose those tribes inferior to those who settled in Egypt and built the Pyramids, or those who settled in Chaldæa and built the cities on the Euphrates. Why can we not civilize the Indians? Why are the Bedouin Arabs in ceaseless motion? "Who hath made them to differ?" How shall we explain the difference between the Village and the Roving Indians of North America?

In the second place, in the very oldest Chaldæan tombs we find *rude stone axes and knives* along with bronze and iron, the iron being so precious as to be used only for ornaments. The metals were scarce in those days, in the infancy of the race, and just after the earth had been swept by a flood. It is the same in Egypt; stone axes and lance-heads and knives are delineated on the tombs of Beni-Hassan, of the fourth dynasty; and Dr. Pickering tells us, in a paper on the Gliddon mummy case in the Smithsonian Institution, that the stone adze is figured in the third dynasty. Nor is this all: M. Mariette informs us that flint arrow-heads and knives are found in numbers in the later Egyptian tombs, even in the time of the Ptolemaic sovereigns. If, then, a primitive tribe, and that an inferior tribe intellectually, should have wandered from Asia, two thousand or twenty-five hundred years before our era, and should have found itself in the unvisited solitudes of central or western Europe—pushed into the wilderness, perhaps, by their more powerful kinsmen—is it strange that they, too, would make use of flint implements? They had not (the first immigrants) "forgotten" the metals, but where were they to get them? They may have been in the bowels of the earth, but they were not competent, perhaps, to find them, or to mine them, or to work

them. In a few years their children or their grandchildren would have "forgotten" them. Iron was not known in America among the Aztecs or the Peruvians. Iron was not possessed by the Massagetæ, (the powerful Scythian tribe who defeated and slew Cyrus the Great in the fifth century before Christ,) nor, indeed, did they make use of it as late as the time of Strabo. The reviewer cannot understand how the cave-dwellers in the valley of the Izère had "forgotten" the use of the metals. Can he explain how it was that the Ichthyophagi, on the north coast of the Arabian sea, between India and Persia, in the days of Strabo, knew nothing of the metals? The civilization of Southern Arabia, the empire of Persia, the arts of India, and—separated only by the Persian Gulf—the cities of the Chaldæan plain, for four or five thousand years, according to the archæologists, had fenced them in. Can the reviewer explain how it is that in the Isle of Lewis a stone knife was used as late as 1824 to cut out a wedding-dress, or that, but a few years ago, the spade was unknown in modern Greece? Were the Ichthyophagi unrelated to all the civilized races around them? and had they enjoyed no opportunity of seeing "the metals?" Doubtless the primeval tribes that reached Western Europe did not improve in that inhospitable region, although the reviewer would be slow to credit the retrogression of humanity, forgetful alike of the plains of Marathon and the ruins of Iona. Can he explain the presence of the flint and bone implements found in association with wheel-made pottery by the Abbé Moretain and the Duc de Luynes, near Bethlehem, in Judea? or on what principle it is that the Bojos of northern Abyssinia at the present day manufacture and use stone hatchets and flint knives along with hatchets and poniards of iron? From the same region nearly two thousand five hundred years ago the Ethiopian contingent in the army of Xerxes, which invaded Greece, had antelope's horn for the heads of their javelins, and their arrows pointed with sharpened stones. This was from the country of the great Tirhakah, where had flourished from a remote period the Golden Napata, and, later, the Golden Meröe; where we find now, on the banks of the Nile, at Jebel-Berkel, great Pyramids and avenues of Sphinxes leading up to the ruins of the Ammonium; where Osiris was worshiped; and where, at a far later period still, in the first or second century

of our era, the kingdom of the Auxumitæ flourished, whose greatness is attested by the ruins of the modern Axum in Tigré.

Why should the reviewer allow such weight to such a point when we are confronted by the astounding revelations of Dr. Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ? Does he not know that no iron was found in the relic-beds at Troy, and that up to the surface or historic Greek beds (B. C. 650) *all* the beds contained stone implements, the same stone implements greatly preponderating over the bronze in the fourth and highest layer from the bottom? If bronze and stone (and apparently no iron) were used on the Asiatic coasts of the Ægean from 1500 B. C. continuously down to 650 B. C., is it very incomprehensible that in 2500 B. C. or 2000 B. C. there should be no working in iron and bronze in north-western Europe? If fifty per cent. of the implements at Troy from 1000 B. C. to 700 B. C. were of metal, and fifty per cent. of stone, why may not one hundred per cent. of the implements in the Thames valley have been of stone 2500 B. C.?

This is what I should say in reply to the objection that the post-diluvians of the European bone-caves "could not have forgotten so soon the use of the metals."

3. I undertake to show in my book that the theory of the Three Ages is practically a delusion, and even venture to doubt, except in Ireland and the Baltic region, the existence of a Bronze Age. I show by innumerable examples that these ages run into each at every point; that the Stone not only overlaps the Bronze, but laps *across* the Bronze into the Iron Age; that while one race was in its Iron Age another was in its Stone Age; that in the same country stone would be in use in one district while metal would be in use in another; and that stone implements are found constantly with Roman remains, and even in Saxon and Merovingian graves.

On this the reviewer remarks:—

> Mr. Southall occupies pages in proving that which no one denies, namely, that stone, bronze, and iron were used together, and that even to a comparatively recent date. . . . Nevertheless, the broad facts remain, of a time in all countries when iron was unknown, but in most cases bronze was used instead of it. Further back, again, and bronze disappears, polished stone alone being used; one step further still, and implements of a rougher, unpolished type appear.—Page 65.

The reviewer admits (says "no one denies") that stone, bronze, and iron were used together, "and that even to a comparatively recent date." He is compelled to admit this. On the site of Hissarlik, (Troy,) in the four relic-beds superimposed the one on the other, coming up to the Greek bed, which is the fifth and last, bronze implements and stone implements occur together in all the beds, and no iron—the last of the four beds, counting upwards, coming down to the dawn of the Greek period, that is to say, about 650 B. C.

If stone was used in the Troad as late as this, and bronze, what must have been the fact in Britain and Gaul? Bronze swords have been found in the peat of the valley of the Somme, with coins of Caracalla and Maxentius. A large number of bronze tools and weapons were found at the lake station of Unter-Uhldingen, in Switzerland, with implements of iron and the fragments of glass goblets—glass being introduced into this region by the Romans. Bronze implements were found again with Roman relics at the lake-stations of Nidau, Sutz, Little Island, Ile des Lapins, (Lake of Bienne,) and at La Tène, (Lake of Neufchatel.) They were found by M. Boucher de Perthes in the Abbeville peat with Gaulish coins. And the bronze daggers are constantly found in the tumuli and dolmens dating after the Christian era. Bronze (and stone) weapons were found again in the trenches before Alise, where Julius Cæsar besieged and captured the army of Vercingetorix.*

As for the continued use of stone, the Abbé Cochet found, as the usual accompaniment of the urn-interments in the Roman cemeteries opened in Normandy, "pieces of chipped flint, generally formed into the shape of wedges." Stone implements were found with Roman relics in a tumulus at Crubelz, (France,) in a tumulus on Hartshill Common, (England,) in Rolley Low, at Moot Low; at the lake-stations of Unter-Uhldingen, Sipplingen, Nidau, Sutz, Little Island, Ile des Lapins, La Tène, Colombier, Chez les Moines, Concise, Corcelettes, Montellier,

* The same fact was developed by the excavations carried on in 1862 between Trévoux and Riottier, on the plateaux of La Bruyère and Saint Bernard, where Cæsar defeated the Helvetii on the Saone. The Emperor Napoleon III. remarks that there are numerous Gallo-Roman and Celtic sepultures on this spot, which yielded many fragments of arms in flint, ornaments in bronze, iron arrow-heads, and fragments of sockets.—*Hist. of Julius Cæsar.* Tran., vol. ii, page 65.

(all in Switzerland;) they were found with Roman objects again at Ash, (in Kent,) at Leicester, at Great Whitcombe, (Gloucestershire,) at Ickleton, (Essex,) at Alchester, (Oxfordshire,) at Eastbourne, at Stoneham, (Suffolk,) in the Isle of Thanet, at Hardham, (Sussex,) all in England. In France, stone implements occurred with Roman relics at La Souterraine, (Creuse,) at Le Chezlounet, (Haute-Loire,) in the necropolis of Varenne-sur-Allier, in the funeral pits of Beaugency, in the cavern of Condere, (Hautes-Cevennes,) in the Gallo-Roman sepultures of Luneray, (Seine-Inférieure,) at Sainte Privat d'Allier, in the Gallo-Roman villa of La Tourette, (Cher,) in a Roman *sacellum* near Conches, (Eure,) in another *sacellum* near the Chateau des Roches, (Sarthe,) in the sarcophagi of Bray, (Oise,) in an ancient iron mine near Guêret, (Creuse.)

Later still, stone weapons have been found with objects of the Saxon period at Stand Low; and in Ireland a stone celt was found with a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins of the tenth century. In France implements of flint have been found in several instances in Merovingian cemeteries, as at Labruyère and Caranda. At the latter place there are great numbers of graves, and they generally contain implements of flint or some other stone.*

If we pass to the other extremity of Europe it has been recently ascertained by the examination of great numbers of the tumuli or kurgans of Russia that they contain implements of stone, bronze, and iron; and the date of these graves is fixed by the discovery in them of Byzantine and Asiatic coins of the tenth century, and other objects belonging to about the same period. The bronze arrow-heads are especially abundant.

Our object in citing these cases is to make it plain that the reviewer was compelled to admit that "stone, bronze, and iron were used together, *and that even to a comparatively recent date.*" This being admitted, we do not care to argue about the priority or succession of stone, bronze, and iron. Of course, there was a period in Western Europe when the metals were

* Since this was written I have met with the statement in *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, in an article by M. G. Soreil on the Cave of Chauvaux, that "we possess a short but authentic and precious monument of old Germanic poesy which proves that in the time of Odoacer (the fifth century) the principal German warriors were still armed with hatchets of stone."—See *livraisons* 9e *et* 10e, 1876, page 385, note.

unknown; we state this—it is implied in the Palæolithic Age. But if stone, bronze, and iron are all found in the trenches before Alise, or if the flint implements occur constantly on Roman sites in France and England, and abound in the Merovingian cemetery of Caranda, then it is obvious at once that stone implements are no longer a proof of a high antiquity. If the stone continued to be used in these countries after the Christian era, *the Stone Age* cannot be very far behind. That was our argument. The reviewer does not seem to apprehend the significance of the facts. Again: the archæologists are fond of Mr. Evans' illustration that, "like the three principal colors of the rainbow, these three stages of civilization overlap, intermingle, and shade off the one into the other, and yet their succession, as far as Western Europe is concerned, appears to be equally well defined with that of the prismatic colors." But while the red, yellow, and blue of the rainbow blend into each other at their edges, the red does not *cross* the yellow to mingle with the blue; it does not touch the blue; but we find the flints in use in the Iron Age; it has lapped *across* the bronze. And a lapping of this kind simply means that the distinctions amount to nothing. The metals did not reach Western Europe (except through an occasional trader) until a few centuries before the Christian era; they had not reached the interior districts of Britain before the advent of the Romans. The more advanced tribes (those on certain coasts, for example) used metal implements; those in the interior continued to use stone. There was also a distinction between the rich and the poor. The rich managed to procure metallic weapons; the poor could not always afford to do it.

The American Indians were in constant communication with all parts of the Continent at the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico: why did they not throw away their stone weapons and use bronze? Why did the Mexicans use stone? Why do some of the Pacific tribes use stone at this day?

Nor need it be supposed that the use of stone implements implies the want of intelligence, or even refinement of feeling. The pottery and the jewelry in the two oldest relic-beds at Hissarlik, as well as at Santorin, are of an advanced type; and if any one will take the trouble to refer to the Appendix to Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico," he will see there a letter of advice from

an Aztec mother to her daughter that is touching and beautiful in the extreme, and full of hints in regard to the latter's deportment in society that would be valuable to a young lady of even the present time in a Christian country. The main thought that I wish to convey, however, is, that this continued use of stone down to and after the Christian era destroys the presumption of antiquity for the Stone Age in Western and Northern Europe. It is only the question of *date* with which I am concerned; the sequence is only a secondary matter.

At the same time (though I cannot go fully into the subject here) I am inclined to the opinion that there was no Bronze Age in Gaul and Britain, and in some other parts of Europe. There was a Bronze Age in Denmark and Southern Sweden; these people were using bronze when the nations of Southern and Central Europe and Gaul were using iron, and their Iron Age does not commence until the third century of the Christian era. There are no evidences of a Bronze Age in the Swiss Lake-Dwellings, if we adopt the definition of such a period given by the archæologists; namely, that it was characterized by the use of bronze for *weapons* and *cutting implements*. Very few bronze weapons have been found at these stations, as may be seen by referring to page 43 of Sir John Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," where he gives a table of the various objects found at them. At six of the principal bronze stations and "other places" (not specified) four thousand three hundred and forty-six objects of bronze were found, and only four swords, six arrow-heads, sixty-seven celts, forty-seven lance-heads, two daggers, and one hundred and ninety-three knives. This is the Bronze Age in Switzerland. The stone implements are not reported; but we ascertain this item, from another table, at the principal Bronze Age station at the Swiss Lakes—Nidau, (on the Lake of Bienne;) and it appears that the stone axes here amounted to thirty-three, while the bronze axes amounted to only twenty-three—there being in addition three hundred and thirty-five "other objects" of stone—chiefly weapons, of course. Now, Nidau is *par excellence* THE bronze station. And yet, according to Sir John Lubbock's own definition, (see page 3,) he ought to have called it a Stone Age station, for it is evident that stone was the principal cutting instrument.

At another great bronze station, Unter-Uhldingen, three

hundred stone celts were found, "besides arrow-heads, chisels, stone hammers," etc.

Where is the Bronze Age in Britain? It is not in the caves, for Mr. Boyd Dawkins observes that "up to the present time (1870) all the prehistoric caves discovered in Britain belong either to the Age of Stone or Iron," ("Macmillan's Magazine," December, 1870.) It is not in the lake-stations; few of these have been found in Britain. It is not in the barrows or dolmens; for Sir John Lubbock gives us a tabulated statement (page 142) of the finds from two hundred and fifty of these, and in all these graves he reports of bronze weapons only fifteen daggers, two axes, and one lance-head—no swords, or knives, or arrow-heads. And yet he refers many of these graves to the Bronze Age.

I am not alone in this opinion as to the non-existence of the Bronze Age in some countries. It is the opinion of Mr. Thomas Wright, one of the most eminent archæologists of England, and of the no less eminent Mr. Roach Smith. It is the opinion of the distinguished Egyptologist, M. Chabas, who declares that there was no Age of Stone, or Bronze, or Iron in Egypt—nor, indeed, in Europe. I cannot say that M. Mariette denies the existence of a Bronze Age in Egypt, but he expressly denies that there are any traces of a Stone Age. The great Assyriologist, M. Oppert, insists that there was no Bronze Age and no Iron Age in the East. At the Stockholm Congress of Anthropologists, in 1874, M. Bertrand, one of the editors (I believe) of the *Revue Archéologique*, declared that "not only did the Bronze and Iron Ages overlap one another, but they had positively been contemporaneous—and in Germany (that) the Bronze Age prevailed to the fourth century after Christ." At the same Congress Mr. Leemans declared that there was no distinction between the Age of Bronze and the Age of Stone in Holland. As to England, Mr. John Evans declared at the same Congress that the bronze swords found in that country are invariably provided with handles of a different metal, which would seem to countenance the opinion of Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Thomas Wright, that these swords are of *Roman* origin. At the Congress, last year, at Budapest, Mr. Evans stated that the "flat" or "knife" hatchets of bronze in England were always found mixed with objects of stone.

The statement of M. Bertrand as to Germany is confirmed by the declaration of M. Virchow, at Budapest, that in Southern Germany the archæologists insist that bronze is not found without iron. (*Matériaux*, 1876, p. 449.)

It is equally true that there was no Bronze Age in Poland or Russia. Dr. Heinrich Wankel, giving an account of the Russian Archæological Congress at Kiew, (1875,) in the *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, after passing under review the kurgans of Russia, remarks that "the separation of the bronze and iron periods has no justification, certainly, for great districts of Russia." "We know, moreover," he adds, "from the investigations of Professor Pryborovsky in Warsaw, that among the people who lived on the Vistula a bronze period did not exist at all, and that the stone period of these people continued into the iron period, and continued to exist with the same a considerable time." *

One more authority to the same purport will suffice: it is that of M. Lenormant, in his work entitled "*Les Premières Civilizations.*" This eminent Orientalist remarks that—

> The distinction between the age of bronze and the age of iron has been from the first too much exaggerated from an observation of the special facts in the Scandinavian North, and it tends to be effaced. In the greater number of countries the two metals were known at the same time, and it was local circumstances, facilitating rather the working of bronze, which made it at first predominate among certain peoples, while the fabrication of iron was developed in preference among others from an extreme antiquity.

Bronze adzes, saws, chisels, falchions, arrow-heads, etc., occur in numbers in the ruins at Thebes in Egypt. The Egyptians, after the capital was removed from Memphis, continued, during the later Theban Monarchy, to use bronze apparently in preference to iron.

On the other hand, in other parts of Africa, as we are informed by M. Lenormant, bronze does not appear to have been used; but the negroes of Central and Southern Africa appear "to have passed at once from the exclusive use of stone to that of iron." †

This is enough on this point. It is plain to any unpreju-

* *Mittheil. anthrop. Gesells. in Wien*, 1875, s. 29.

† *Matériaux pour l'Hist. de l'Homme*, 1874, 2e *livraison*, p. 82.

diced reader that the theory of the Three Ages, as presented by the archæologists, is incorrect as a scheme of chronology, and almost worthless as a formula of human progress.

4. *The Peat.* Great stress has been laid on the *peat* of the Somme valley. Thirty feet of it (in some places) overlie the implement-bearing gravel beds at Abbeville and Amiens. This alone, we are told, has involved the lapse of a vast period of time, entirely at war with the old chronology. In my book I undertake to show that these deposits do not go back of (say) 1,000 years B. C., and that, in fact, much of it is post-Roman.

There are two arguments for this. One is that made by Dr. Andrews, who observed at Amiens that in the peat deposits the stumps of birch-trees were still standing erect three feet high. On this Dr. Andrews remarks that, as the stumps of trees do not stand long uncovered in the damp air of a swamp without decay, it follows that all which were found standing erect in the peat must have been covered to their present summits before they had time to rot away. But one hundred years is a long life-time for an oak-stump under such circumstances, and every trace of almost every other tree would disappear in fifty years. Birch-stumps are especially perishable. There were also prostrate trunks of oak four feet in diameter, and so sound that they were manufactured into furniture. They must have been covered by the peat in a hundred years, and the birch-stumps in much less time. At three feet in a century, the thirty feet of peat would have formed in a thousand years, instead of the thirty thousand required by M. de Perthes. At one foot in a century, the whole would have formed in three thousand years.

The second argument for the moderate age of the peat was drawn from M. Boucher de Perthes' book, (the *Antiquités celtiques et anté-diluviennes.*) I showed from this work that relics of Roman origin were found in the peat or silt at the lowest depths, and instanced, in addition, from Lyell, the discovery, near Abbeville, at the bottom of the peat, of *a boat laden with Roman bricks.*

I cited also from Ireland and Denmark, England and Scotland and Germany, many other cases to prove that the peat deposits of Europe are ordinarily no older, or little older, than

the beginning of our era. I think the point was established; but the reviewer meets it by suggesting that "rivers are constantly shifting their course more or less rapidly, . . . and it seems to us probable that a laden boat, sinking in the mud of a swollen river which excavated for itself a new channel, would quickly become silted up with sand and mud, and, on the river resuming its normal proportions, it would remain buried below the level of the peat, the superincumbent mass of which might have become pressed down and spread over the spot, undermined by the flood, without having grown there."

This supposes that our Roman boat was caught at Abbeville, before it had time to unload, in a sudden flood of the river; that the river got out of its banks, and excavated a new channel in the adjacent peat; that this peat had been quietly forming there before for thousands of years without interruption; that the boat went to the bottom in the new channel during the flood; that the river then retired, and in some mysterious way the peat then closed over the stranded boat.

If the peat of the Somme valley has been thrown about after this fashion, it has no significance one way or the other; if the Roman relics at the bottom of it are not indicative of the age of the peat, then neither are the relics of the Neolithic Age found there reliable witnesses of the time which has elapsed since the peat began to form; nor is the mere thickness of the peat; for if the floods may have undermined it and upturned it, we can know nothing about its normal thickness whatever, and can base no calculations on it. But we never heard of peat being treated in this way; it would not be going much further to suggest that the whole of it has been washed into the Somme valley.

The reviewer ought to know that peat will not form in muddy water, or over a valley subject to violent floods. Thus, as M. Belgrand says, discussing this very question, there is no peat in the valley of the Marne, which is subject to floods of muddy water.

The reviewer of my book in *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme* (8e *livraison*, 1876) is much more candid on this point than the "Westminster" reviewer. He says:—

According to Mr. Andrews, the peat, which is only produced under very special conditions of abundant vegetable decomposition and humidity and repose, can only be formed in a rather rapid manner. If his conclusions, which seem the fruit of careful observations, were admitted, it would be necessary to reject every hypothesis of the formation of peat on a scale slower than that of two feet in a century. . . . It seems proved that under favorable circumstances the thickest beds of peat have been formed in the course of one or two centuries, even where it can be produced no longer in our day from the absence of the same necessary conditions for its development.

5. *The Stalagmite.* The reviewer (page 78) says that it would be ridiculous to apply the admeasurement of stalagmitic deposit in the Ingleborough Caves to the stalagmite of Kent's Cavern. I cannot see the logic of this. We have been told by Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace that it must have taken five hundred thousand years for the stalagmitic floors in Kent's Cavern to form; and Mr. Vivian, as I have stated, at the British Association in 1871, put it at "more than a million years." In reply, I showed that at the Ingleborough Cave, in Yorkshire, stalagmite is being accumulated at the present moment at the rate of 0.2946 of an inch in a year, which is at the rate of nearly one inch in three years, or about three feet per century. Why may not the process have been equally rapid in Kent's Cavern? It may have been *more rapid.* The rate depends on the supply of carbonic acid, and this may have been much greater formerly, either from subterranean sources, or from the greater accumulation of vegetable matter in the soil.

I mentioned that the stalagmite had been recently observed to be forming at Poole's Hole, near Buxton, at the rate of one inch in four years; that in Martin's Cave, at Gibraltar, a floor eighteen inches thick had formed since the twelfth or thirteenth century; that at San Vignone, in Tuscany, half a foot of solid limestone is formed every year in a conduit-pipe, inclined at an angle of thirty degrees; that at the baths of San Filippo, in the Apennines, the water has been known to deposit a solid mass thirty feet thick in twenty years; that in a lead cave, near Dubuque, Iowa, stalactites three feet long have formed in three years.

And yet the reviewer deems it a sufficient reply to all this

to say that it would be ridiculous to apply the admeasurement in Ingleborough Cave to Kent's Cave.

I will settle the matter by an authority that the reviewer will, perhaps, bow to.

In his work entitled "Cave-Hunting," Mr. W. Boyd Dawkins (who believes in pre-glacial man, and who ranks second to none in the school of Prehistoric Archæology) remarks upon the Ingleborough Cave as follows:—

> It is evident, from this instance of rapid accumulation, that the value of a layer of stalagmite in measuring the antiquity of deposits below it is comparatively little. The layers, for instance, in Kent's Hole, which are generally believed to have demanded a considerable lapse of time, may possibly have been formed at the rate of a quarter of an inch per annum, and the human bones which lie buried under the stalagmite in the cave of Bruniquel, are not for that reason to be taken to be of vast antiquity. It may be fairly concluded that the thickness of layers cannot be used as an argument in support of the remote age of the strata below. At the rate of a quarter of an inch per annum, twenty feet of stalagmite might be formed in one thousand years.*

6. *No Palæolithic Age in Egypt.* Says the Westminster reviewer:—

> Over and over again Mr. Southall affirms that no palæolithic implements have been found in Egypt, and that there is no trace of any thing behind the Pyramids; but Sir John Lubbock produces numerous specimens found by himself in Egypt, scarcely to be distinguished from those found in our caves—found, too, in situations suggestive of the highest antiquity.

Of course, if there is nothing in Egypt behind the Pyramids, or in Chaldæa behind Erech and Calneh and the Tower of Babel, the argument is nearly ended; and that is precisely what I affirm, (allowing a margin of a few centuries—possibly five hundred to one thousand years.)

The reviewer does not understand the subject, and has, moreover, made an important addition to Sir John Lubbock's statement. Sir John Lubbock does not state that he found there implements "in situations suggestive of the highest antiquity." He says that he found them in the Nile Valley on the surface of the ground.

Nor has Sir John Lubbock found any implements of the "Pa-

* "Cave-Hunting," p. 40.

læolithic Age," (as that term is understood in connection with the Somme Valley and Western Europe) in Egypt. All that he found—and that on the surface of the ground—was implements of "palæolithic type," resembling those of the Somme Valley in character. He *did not* find them in the same geological horizon; he *did not* find them in association with the bones of the mammoth and the cave-bear.

I have already stated that implements of palæolithic type have been found in the old Chaldæan tombs. Implements of the same type were found in abundance by Col. J. Lane Fox at Cissbury, which are admitted to belong to the Neolithic Period; and Prof. Charles Rau informs us that such implements "are by no means scarce in North America. . . . and must be classed with the other chipped and ground implements in use among the North American aborigines during historical times." Messrs. Squier and Davis found six hundred flint implements of this type in one of the "sacrificial" mounds of Clark's Work, on the North Fork of Paint Creek, Ross County, Ohio.

The *type*, however, is of no significance; the antiquity of such objects must be judged from the geological position and the associated fauna.

I stated deliberately, and I reiterate the statement, that there are no traces of the Palæolithic Age in Egypt. Not only was there no Palæolithic Age in Egypt and Chaldæa, but there was *no Stone Age of any kind.* There are plenty of stone implements found, belonging to the Neolithic type, but they are found in the tombs and on the surface of the ground, and are delineated on the Egyptian monuments.

The circumstance that some implements of this type have been found in the Nile Valley points to the same conclusion which is suggested by their presence in the Chaldæan tombs; namely, that the palæolithic implements of the West *are of the same date, and originated in the East.*

THE EXTINCT ANIMALS AND THE CHANGES IN PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

I have now noticed the points made by the reviewer. They do not touch the main issue in the case. The difficult facts to account for in this matter are *the association of human relics*

with the remains of the mammoth, the hippopotamus, the reindeer, etc., in England and France, and in Central Europe; and, secondly, *the modifications of the crust of the earth which have taken place since the Palæolithic Period.*

The reviewer ought to have grappled with these points. The first of them is, perhaps, the most important. It is pointed out that a new fauna has been introduced into Europe since the Palæolithic Period, and that there has been a change from an arctic to the present mild climate in England and France. Moreover, the imagination is impressed when we are told that since the human period elephants and rhinoceroses and reindeer and lions and hyænas have lived in the Thames and the Somme valleys. It is at once inferred that this must have been ages ago.

I undertook to show, however, that this inference is unwarranted, and that all of these animals survived to a comparatively recent period: that the urus survived in Germany to the sixteenth century; that the aurochs was found in Prussia in the last century, and still survives in the Caucasus; that the reindeer is mentioned as living in Germany by Cæsar and Sallust; by Torfæus as found in Scotland in the twelfth century; as found (its remains) in the Scottish burghs, and in the peat of England, Scotland, and Denmark, and as found in association with implements of polished stone and bronze; that the remains of the great Irish elk are found in Irish crannoges (which have no antiquity) and in the Irish peat in association with implements of iron; in the Irish peat with the tendons still undecayed, and the bones yielding forty per cent. of animal matter; and that Brandt and Agassiz believe it to have survived in Germany to the fourteenth century of our era; that the remains of the cave bear are found in Italy and Denmark in association with neolithic implements—and, indeed, that there is no specific distinction between the cave bear and the common brown bear; that the lion was found in Thessaly as late as the third century before our era, and that the cave lion is now identified with the Asiatic lion; that the cave hyena and the cave horse are now considered also as identical with existing species; that the American mastodon and mammoth have left their bones in the most superficial deposits all over the country; that there is good reason to believe that one of these animals is represented in the

Wisconsin mounds—and, possibly, in the monuments of Central America; that in Siberia entire carcasses of the mammoth and rhinoceros are found completely preserved in the frozen sand; that in America, in Siberia, and in Europe the tusks and bones of these animals still retain a large proportion of animal matter—in Siberia the ivory constituting an important article of commerce.

It appears to me that these facts destroy the presumption of a remote antiquity (one hundred or two hundred thousand years) for the palæolithic fauna. Since I published them I have seen no attempt to answer them. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, who reviewed my book in "Nature," did not refer to them; Mr. Joseph Anderson, who reviewed it in "The Academy," does not refer to them; the "Westminster" reviewer passes them over in silence; and M. Rioult de Neuville makes only a passing allusion in his review in "*Materiaux.*" The truth is, there is no answer to be made. The carcasses found in Siberia would alone demonstrate the recent existence of the mammoth. The occurrence of the bones of the mastodon in shallow peat-bogs from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, and in the shell-marl of small lakes and ponds, is *conclusive* of a recent date. "Almost any swampy bit of ground," says Professor Shaler, in the "American Naturalist," vol. iv, page 162, "in Ohio or Kentucky contains traces of the mammoth and mastodon;" and at Big Lick, Kentucky, he adds, "the remains are so well preserved as to seem not much more ancient than the buffalo bones which are found above them."

If these circumstances were not sufficient to prove the case, all doubt would seem to be removed by the evidence of the existence of the reindeer and the great Irish elk down to historical times, and by the facts mentioned touching the cave lion, cave bear, and cave hyena, the contemporaries of the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros in Western Europe.

But this is not the whole of the case: *we can trace the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus on the shores of the Mediterranean down to the beginning of the Christian era.* If this statement be true, the existence of the same animals in Europe at a recent period is not only rendered probable, but it would be a matter to excite surprise that they should not be found there. For why should Europe be free from great carnivores

and great pachydermatous animals, when they were found in all the other continents—in North and South America, in Asia and in Africa? Why should Europe constitute an exception?

The monkey is still found in Spain on the rock of Gibraltar. Remains of the African elephant have been found in a cave near Madrid; and Don Juan Vilanova y Piera, a Spanish archæologist, gives an account of the cave of Las Maravillas, in Valencia, where he found, at the depth of several meters, the bones of the extinct mammifers mingled with implements of the Polished Stone Age.* In the neolithic caverns of Gibraltar, explored by Captain Brome, we find again the bones of the spotted hyena, the lynx, ibex, serval, Barbary stag, and other African species. All of these animals inhabited Spain during the Second Stone Age. And now, if we cross the Straits of Gibraltar, we learn from the "Voyage of Hanno" (about 500 B. C.) that the expedition under his command, sent out by the Carthagenian Government, saw "herds of elephants" grazing at Cape Soleis, on the north-west coast of Africa. A little later Herodotus informs us that "the western parts of Libya abound with wild beasts—serpents of enormous size, lions, *elephants*, bears, etc."† Pliny, in the first century of our era, writes that "Africa produces elephants beyond the deserts of Syrtes, and in Mauritania,"‡ (Fez and Morocco.) Strabo states that above Mauritania, on the exterior sea, is the country of the western Ethiopians. "Iphicrates," he adds, "says that cameleopards are bred here, and elephants, and rhizeis, [rhinoceroses,] in shape like bulls, but in manner of living, size, and strength resembling elephants."§ And again: "Mauritania produces large serpents, elephants, antelopes, buffaloes, lions," etc.‖ And, again, he mentions that the Mauritanians dress themselves in the skins of lions, panthers, and other wild beasts, and their foot-soldiers, he tells us, "have for shields the skins of elephants."¶

On the other side of Europe, as has been now ascertained through the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, it appears that the elephant was hunted in the valley of the Tigris as late as about 1130 B. C. We learn from the stele of Amenemheb, a military officer of the time of Thothmes III., translated by

* Congress Prehistoric Archæology, Norwich volume, 1868, p. 398.

† Book iv, § 191. ‡ Nat. Hist., viii, c. 11. § Strab., book xvii, c. 3, § 5.

‖ Ibid., § 4. ¶ Ibid., § 7.

M. Chabas, that this Egyptian monarch, (about 1500 B. C.,) in an expedition against Nineveh, captured in the chase one hundred and twenty elephants.* We learn again from M. Lenormant that in the twelfth century B. C., according to an inscription on the prism of Tiglath-pileser I., preserved in London, this monarch "killed ten elephants on the banks of the Khabour," (an affluent of the Tigris), and "captured four alive."†

On the black obelisk from Nimrud, in the British Museum, the Muzri (a people from northern Kurdistan—the upper Tigris) are represented as bringing to Shalmanezer II. (B. C. 858–823) the camel, the elephant, and the rhinoceros as tribute. We learn from these facts that the disappearance of the elephant from the Mesopotamian valley has occurred in historical times, and that in the Barbary States elephants, lions, cameleopards, and probably the rhinoceros, were common after the beginning of the Christian era.

A representation of the hippopotamus has been met with in a specimen of pottery obtained by Dr. Schliemann from the third (ascending) relic-bed at Troy—the bed immediately above the Trojan bed, which proves the existence of this animal on the coasts of the Hellespont about 1100 B. C.; and if on the Asiatic side, of course on the European side of these straits also. It was this *Asiatic* hippopotamus which is described in the Book of Job, just as it was the *Asiatic* crocodile, and not the Egyptian, which is described there also.

The hippopotamus is referred to in ancient Indian writings, and is expressly mentioned by Alexander the Great, in a letter to Aristotle, as existing in India; and the same fact is stated by Onesicritus.‡ It was found in the Delta of the Nile in Roman times, and the traveler Zerenghi killed two individuals near Damietta in the sixteenth century. Its bones have been also found in the river Chelif in Algeria.

No more need be added on this point I can only again express my astonishment that such facts are silently ignored by writers who urge the presence of this fauna in the palæolithic caves as their strongest evidence for the antiquity of that age.

As to the *change of climate* which is alleged to have taken

* Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1874, tome i, pp. 157, 178. † Ibid., p. 182.

‡ See Buffon, Nat. Hist., vol. vii, p. 453. London. 1812.

place since the reindeer lived in the South of France, I have only to remark that the remains of this animal have been found near London, with metal implements, and that it is admitted pretty generally that he was living in France in the Neolithic Age. If the reindeer, therefore, proves a much colder climate, it has not taken any very extended period to bring about the change which has taken place.

My space leaves me but little room to notice the *physical changes* which have taken place. They involve a movement of some of the (northern) European coast-lines amounting to, (ascending and descending,) perhaps, some four hundred feet. I would remark upon this that these movements of the crust of the earth were very active during the Glacial Period, and continued after the close of that epoch. The sea rose and fell on the coasts of Scotland and England during the Glacial Period twelve or thirteen hundred feet, and the elevations and subsidences of the land were repeated more than once.

There was one great movement of this sort (on a reduced scale as compared with those of the Glacial Epoch) in post-glacial times—at the time of the Palæolithic Flood.

We are not so much surprised at these disturbances of the crust of the earth when we learn that at Uddevalla, on the west coast of Sweden, the land has been elevated more than two hundred feet since a date which, according to M. Torell and Sir C. Lyell, "by no means reaches back to the Glacial Period"—as is proved by the sea-shells found at this height, which agree with species now proper to the fauna of the adjacent and more temperate seas.*

Again, at Södertalje, near Stockholm, a buried fisherman's hut has been found at the depth of sixty-four feet, covered by marine strata containing shells of the existing Baltic species. Sir C. Lyell says, "It seems impossible to explain the position of this buried hut without imagining first a subsidence to the depth of more than sixty feet, then a re-elevation." Several vessels of antique form, and (which Sir C. Lyell omits to mention) an *iron anchor and some iron nails*, were found near the hut.† We have thus (descending and ascending) a move-

* See Lyell's Principles of Geology, vol. ii, p. 192, Amer. ed.

† Lyell's Antiq. Man, p. 240. *Archiv. für Anthropologie*, August, 1875, s. 17.

ment of nearly one hundred and thirty feet since the iron anchor and nails mentioned were deposited where they have been found.

The north-east coast of the Island of Möen is another example. Here, according to M. Puggaard and Sir C. Lyell, the coast has been raised four hundred feet since the Glacial Period—and this, in this part of Europe, was considerably more recent than the Glacial Epoch of the Somme valley, as will be seen presently.

I would merely mention in addition, as examples of similar movements, the island of San Lorenzo, in front of Callao, where Darwin discovered, at the height of eighty-five feet above the sea, in a bed of modern marine shells, roots of sea-weed, bones of birds, ears of maize, plaited reeds, and some cotton thread; and, again, Hobson's Bay, Australia, the bottom of which, some years since, was ascertained to be rising at the rate of four inches in a year; and, again, the instance cited on page 373, *Recent Origin of Man*, near Nova Zembla, where the Gulf Stream Islands have risen from the sea one hundred and ten feet in three hundred years. Many other examples might be given; but these suffice to show that a movement of this sort of several hundred feet at the close of the Glacial Age cannot be regarded as very extraordinary, and affords no evidence of a great lapse of time since its occurrence. This point the reviewer alike passed over in silence.

There was one other point which he abstained from noticing, to which I challenge attention. This is the argument, in chapter xxxii of my book, for the recent date of the Glacial Age. That argument is this: Lyell and all the archæologists admit that no palæolithic implements are found in Denmark, Sweden, or Scotland, and that palæolithic man never penetrated these regions. The reason assigned is, that *the ice* had not retired from the north of Europe—the Glacial Age still lingered. The first traces of man in these countries are of the Neolithic or Polished Stone Age. Man advanced as soon as the retreat of the ice permitted him; *and this was in the Neolithic Age.* Therefore, the Glacial Age closed in Denmark during the Neolithic Age, which archæologists represent to possess an antiquity of six or seven thousand years; it is in reality not more than

thirty-five hundred years ago. The Glacial Age in the valleys of the Thames and the Somme had ended a short space earlier.

We thus fix the date of the Glacial Age. And I do not believe any reply can be made to this.

That remarkable epoch in the geological history of the earth closed certainly less than six or seven thousand years ago in the north of Europe. And there is probably good reason to believe that Mr. Lenormart is right in thinking that the tradition of it is preserved in the venerable records of the Zendavesta.

JAMES C. SOUTHALL.

ART. III.—REV. WM. TAYLOR AND INDIA MISSIONS.

Four Years' Campaign in India. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. London: Hodder & Stoughton. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

THERE are certain great problems in modern missionary work in the light of which this book will be read, and the work of which it is a narrative will be judged. Christian missions to heathen nations are no longer to be considered as an outburst of "puritanical fanaticism," or as a mistaken but harmless benevolence, but rather as the highest manifestation of the "faith, the philanthropy, and the power" of the Christian Church. Of their ultimate success few persons well informed of their past history and present power and opportunities could be found to seriously doubt. Quite apart from the question of their steady and certain triumph, however, is the specific one, whether a general Christian "awakening" or "revival" is possible among great bodies of heathen people, or whether we may hope for sudden or simultaneous movements toward Christianity among them; and if so, at what stage of Christian endeavor, through what means and methods, and under what circumstances, or with what force and hope, may we use the phrase, "A nation shall be born at once?"

It was because of their hope to find some agency highly adapted to excite such general "awakening" that the India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church invited Rev. William Taylor to labor with them. After having worked with them and other missionaries in India, and subsequently independently of them—four years in all—he wrote this book,

which, he says, is "the first published report of a new soul-saving mission in a great heathen country, with specimen incidents and illustrations of the first three years of its eventful life."

The book has been more criticised than the man or his mission work. The "Indian Evangelical Review," for January, 1876, says: "As a Christian workman Mr. Taylor undoubtedly stands far in advance of many; as an historian, at least of his own labors, he falls as far behind." It says, "It is a most unfortunate production," and "regrets that he should have published it." The uncharitableness of the assertions and assumptions concerning other missionary agencies has been considered in bad taste, and as incongruous with Mr. Taylor's Christian professions and known general character. Our writer thinks the "flings" at other missions to be the equivalent of asserting that "their course has been one of failure, their results nothing, their policy a blunder." Exception has also been taken to the irreverence, as it appears to be to some persons, of some of the phraseology. How "God intends to run" this mission work, and "the Holy Spirit being allowed to test his Pauline methods," with much like phrase, is not acceptable to the taste of many people.

On the other hand, there has been much hearty commendation of, and great interest in, the book. To our own taste and judgment the publication of the detailed moral and spiritual history of persons who sought an interview with Mr. Taylor as a spiritual adviser is of very questionable propriety. Yet to many these may be a source of profit.

Incidentally this book treats—and treats pretty fully—of the manners and customs of the people of India; and is, herein, entertaining, instructive, and accurate. (For illustrations, see pages 90, 91, 95, 96, 105, etc.)

The book has the character of a journal of the author, of whom we may safely say that his simplicity, sincerity, self-denial, integrity, great faith, and devotion to the cause of Christ, have but rarely been questioned; while his tact, his dash, his courage, his perseverance, and his pluck, have attracted the attention and challenged the admiration of men who, besides being without appreciation of his preaching or regard for his piety, downrightly disliked his evangelistic methods. But however excellent, he is too unique to pass uncriticised. His

friends have defended his eccentricities and deficiencies by saying that "he is Taylor," and that "the culture which would remedy his glaring faults" might strip him of the "power to do the peculiar work which God has committed to his hands." There are few but will admit that his faults are of the head, and not of the heart or intention. His renown as a revivalist occasioned his being invited to India. He had seen a great "revival of God" in a half dozen of the West India islands; had, he says, twelve hundred colonists and seven thousand Kaffirs converted in his meetings in South Africa, and had the official report by others of the conversion of six thousand persons at his meetings in Australia.

While laboring in connection with our North India missionaries no such general results attended his efforts. If one may judge from the tone of his entries the review does not seem to have been wholly satisfactory to himself, for he thus summarizes: "A few hundreds of nominal Christians professed to find peace at our meetings, and also a small number of Hindus and Mohammedans, and God gave a fresh divine impulse to the work which thrills on with increasing power year by year." This is scarcely to be considered remarkable success.

There was, however, a great disparity between the other fields in which he had labored and that which he found in India. In those the populations were small, the territory limited, the Christian laborers relatively more numerous, and the people better instructed in Christianity. In the six West India islands on which he labored are five thousand acres of territory, containing a population of about a million, administered to spiritually by three hundred and eighty-six European and colonial missionaries, and among whom the Wesleyan Church alone reckoned some eighty thousand hearers. Religion was in a state of decline; the Wesleyans, he says, had in the six years preceding his visit struck from their Church records the names of six thousand Church members. There was opportunity for revival.

Old Cape Colony and its dependencies, in South Africa, contain twenty-five thousand acres, and have a population, including Zulus and Bechuanas, not reaching two millions, among whom are thirty-five thousand Church members, three hundred and fifty European ministers, and fourteen hundred lay agents —"a proportion of Christian laborers unequaled anywhere in

the heathen world. New South Wales comprises say three hundred thousand acres of land, with a population of but little more than half a million, three hundred thousand of whom are recognized "adherents" of Churches; the average attendance on Christian worship reaching a hundred thousand. An eminent authority says that there is here "a larger proportion of well-educated people than can be found among the same number of people in the British Isles." In the whole of Australia are eight colonies of English-speaking people, the vast majority of whom are Protestants.

How dissimilar from this India was may be seen at a glance. (1) Here were only six hundred foreign missionaries, with a proportionate number of native agents, in a population approaching three hundred millions, occupying a territory twenty-three times larger than England and Wales, and equal in area to all Europe, exclusive of Russia and Scandinavia. There were (2) the proclivities and prejudices of diverse races. Remnants of two race-waves of Turanian tribes, sustaining a relation to later invaders similar to that of the North American aborigines to the Anglo-Americans, are found in widely separated, and often remote, portions of India. Aryan, Mongul, Portuguese, Dane, French, and Briton have followed, and form at present a mosaic of twenty-one races and thirty-five nations. (3) More than a half hundred languages and dialects add to the hinderances of evangelistic labor. A hundred millions of the people of India are speaking Hindi and Urdu; thirty-six millions use Bengali; to Tamil Telugu and Marathi are to be assigned a population of fifteen millions each; while the Punjab claims but three millions less. Among those of lesser prominence the Canarese claims ten, to the Gujerati are given seven, and to the Oriya five, millions. (4) Diversity of forms of faith and worship add to the complications. Ten thousand Jews are in India. A hundred and fifty thousand descendants of the old fire-worshiping Geubre are present in the Parsee, the merchant prince of India. Seventeen millions engage in the dismal orgies and rayless rites of demonolatry and aboriginal nature-worship; forty millions are fired with the furious fanaticism of the false prophet of Mecca, and follow his green flag; and one hundred and seventy millions are molded by the principles and practices of Brahmanism. (5) The influence of the

Indian social organization is not to be discarded in its relation to Christian revival. Partly from religious causes, and partly owing to a highly artificial distribution of labor forces, there exist class divisions of society, which classes think and act with unparalleled compactness. These "castes" are hereditary, the parents and priests through infant marriages perpetuating the distinctions. Property is held by the family as a whole, and violation of caste usages is legal ground of disinheritance. The peace of the dead is dependent on ceremonial observances of the living, which may not be performed when class obligations are omitted. Such a system not only perpetuates institutions, but evils and errors as well. It does more. It destroys independence of action and individuality of thought. It incapacitates for personal assertion. The individual comes to have but little comprehension of the possibility or the duty of the desirability of other action than that of his class. There is but little room for conviction of personal sinfulness when conscience as well as conduct is communal.

Taken all in all—for we have but hinted at the bulk of hinderances to a Christian awakening or revival in India—we do not wonder that Brother Taylor says (p. 75) "the combinations of opposing forces in India probably exceed those of any other part of the globe." But the question still recurs: What is possible to Christian faith and effort in this direction? Taylor says: "The brethren got an idea that I would at once attack the masses in the street and mow them down like grass." Precisely so. This indicates just what it is all-important the Christian Church shall not allow to slip from its thought, and hope, and aim—to wit: the possibility of a simultaneous movement of masses of heathen toward Christianity. Taylor thought the obstacles we have enumerated, combined with the feeble force and low intelligence of a first generation of Christian converts from heathendom, and the antagonistic influences of unworthy representatives of Christian countries, resident in India, offered for the present insuperable obstacles to a general Christian awakening. He says: "We cannot expect very great results among the natives in the presence of a nominal, ineffective Church. If there were no such Church we might hope for immediate results among them; but now our only hope is to make the Church more effective."—P. 69.

Let us look, then, at the grounds of hope which remain for such Christian awakening in India.

First—for nothing strikes like a fact—India has already witnessed local movements of masses of people, such as it is desired should become general. Rev. Mr. Boerrusun is a Norwegian missionary laboring among the aboriginal tribes north-west of Calcutta, known as the "Santals." A few years ago he wrote: "The Lord is doing wonders here. During the last few weeks I have baptized upward of five hundred persons, and every day from ten to a hundred fresh candidates present themselves, and are eager to be taught further in the truths of the Gospel. Every one of them is an evangelist, doing all he can to get some one of his heathen brethren to share the blessing he has himself experienced." Many women "come as far as twenty to thirty miles, and the whole land of the Santals seems to be under the mighty influence." This same missionary, according to the "Lucknow Witness," in four months of 1872 baptized no less than fourteen hundred persons, converts from heathendom.

A hundred thousand Shanars, a devil-worshiping tribe in South India, have accepted Christianity, and their "revival" meetings have been attended with remarkable physical phenomena, such as whip-like cracking of the hair, violent jerkings, etc., similar to those witnessed in earlier times at camp-meetings in Kentucky and elsewhere. Three hundred Telugus were baptized by Baptist missionaries in December, 1870, while, in the midst of harvest, men and women turned out by hundreds to hear about Jesus." A general movement of masses of people toward Christianity has also been witnessed in the case of the Karens. These, and like instances of tribal movements, show the possibility of a great awakening in India. What has been may be, and we can but long for its coming. Here in the Santal, as in other cases, were numerical results of evangelistic labor amid India's "combination of opposing forces," and in many senses in the presence of the same paralyzing influences from a feeble Church as those found in the localities where Taylor labored in India. We concede a difference between these rude tribes and the burnished Brahminism and bannered Islamism of the Gangetic valley, but do not yield the logical force of the precedent. We say these more than suggest that like results are possible in other parts of India.

A second ground of hope for such general movement is found in a considerable and increasing force of Christian converts scattered over India. Relatively few, it is true, yet sufficient to show that Christianity may win its way among all; and to furnish an agency on which the Holy Ghost may move to make it a great spiritual factor in a general awakening.

Brother Taylor and others write much of apostolic success. It has been recently pointed out that equal if not greater success has already attended missionary labor in India. Nor let it be interposed that we have greater facilities than had they, for even that has been anticipated. The apostles found the Hebrew Scriptures already in the hands of their first converts, for these had been translated into Greek three centuries before, and thus there was a people prepared of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. For the first hundred years the Gospel did not spread among those attached to the soil, but was mainly confined to the cities and towns, and only a few Gentiles were at first among the converts. In seventy years after the first preaching of the apostles (A. D. 100) it has been estimated that there were a hundred thousand converts. In India, seventy years after Carey's first baptism of a native convert, there were (in that land and British Burmah) seventy-three thousand native Christian communicants, and a nominal Christian population among the natives of over three hundred thousand.

If aggressive force is indicative of spirituality, this Christian body may point with hope to their more recent ratio of increase. Throughout India, exclusive of Burmah, between 1862 and 1872, there was an advance from one hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, to two hundred and twenty-four thousand one hundred and sixty-one, that is, to the extent of sixty-one per cent. Within this decade the number of Telugu Christians advanced from twenty-three to six thousand four hundred and eighteen. In Chota Nagpore the growth was from two thousand five hundred and thirty-one to twenty thousand. Our own Methodist Episcopal Mission in North India advanced five hundred per cent. Protestant Christianity has spread more rapidly in India than did Brahminism, Moslemism, or Romanism in the East. A uniform increase equal to that of the past decade would afford a hundred and thirty millions of Christians in India in the year A.D. 2001.

Within the same decade Hinduism has increased but five per cent., leaving a net gain of Christianity over it of fifty-six per cent., which would show that the Church in India is to-day gaining on the world numerically as rapidly at least as in the most favored sections of America. We say it is in accord with precedent, principle, and faith, to hope that the Holy Ghost may move this body of Christians to simultaneous spiritual effort.

A third hopeful feature is found in a general state of expectancy favorable to Christianity. In no other country are there so many convinced of the truths of Christianity who are counted with the opponents of it, and in no other heathen country is there so general anticipation of the ultimate triumph of Christianity over other forms of faith. "Do not take so much trouble; our folks will soon become Christian even if left to themselves," said a Hindu woman in the zenanas of Calcutta to Miss Britain. "Only have a little patience, and all the Hindus will become Christians," said another Hindu woman to Mrs. Page. "We believe we speak the simple truth," said the "Lucknow Witness," "when we say that millions of natives are firmly convinced of this. We have found it an accepted belief in the most remote mountain hamlets where no European had ever penetrated, and we find it received as an inevitable event of the near future in every city and town of the plains." Rev. Dr. Waugh says: "A deep and widespread conviction seems to prevail, not only in cities, but also in the country places, among the villagers, and, indeed, throughout all classes, that a day of overthrowing of the old religions and effete faiths, of the breaking up of old forms, is at hand. The common people speak of the coming day of overturning, and seem not dismayed at its approach, but announce themselves as ready to join in the van, indeed are only awaiting its coming to break away from their present thraldom and bonds of caste." A company of educated natives, none of whom were Christians, met for five Sundays in succession in Calcutta recently to discuss the question, "Is it likely that Christianity will become the religion of India?" At the close a vote was taken, and it was unanimously declared in the affirmative. They seemed thunderstruck with the result of their own deliberations. One of the gentlemen, a head-master of a government school, got up and said, "Then what are we

here for?" This was echoed by all present. They broke up, and never met more.

He is a poor student of history who does not know what important factors in popular movements such a general state of expectancy among a people can become. Some day, perhaps not distant, there may be found in this the basis of a widespread Christian awakening. The uprising may come with a rush, and there may not be men enough to show inquirers the way.

The very air is full of restlessness and change. European education is breaking up old systems; English legislators are teaching the equality of man. Western medical science is displacing muttered incantations; forty millions of Hindus have tried the railway; the penny-post and telegraph are exposing idolatrous shams; twenty-six hundred vernacular and five hundred English books, one hundred and fifty-six native and sixty English newspapers, with thirty-one native and thirty European magazines—all the issues of a single year in India—show its literary stir. Multitudes of Hindu boys never become idolaters at all. "The age of hero-deification is already passing away," says the government report of Madras. A government officer reporting not as a missionary, but as a Roman consul might have done, says: "The magnificent temples erected in past ages are slowly succumbing to the destroying hand; new temples on a scale of grandeur equal to those of former ages are unknown . . . this is but a visible sign of the waning vitality of the religion itself. . . . The day is not probably far distant when a religious revival, a shaking of the dry bones of Hinduism, shall occur."

Professor Max Müller wrote several years ago: "From what I know of the Hindus, they seem to me riper for Christianity than any nation that ever accepted the Gospel."

Added to all this—for it is allied with it—the Hindu social and religious disintegration points to the fact that as the Hindus are wont to think and act only in mass, this general breaking up favors the acceptance of Christianity by these disintegrated masses. The Presbyterian missionaries of Futtehgarh found in the Saadh a class of people whom no missionary had visited, thrown off from the Brahmanic community, following a leader who was instructing them in a religion

which was neither Hindu, Moslem, nor Christian, but was more Christian than any thing else. They sought and readily accepted Christian instruction. We have the record of like disrupted communities in Bengal, Northern India, and in fact quite extensively over the country, the leaders in many cases instructing the people to accept the teaching of the Christian missionaries. Here is a further force favorable to some general movement toward the Christian faith.

Lastly—for we must have done with this, though it might be extended indefinitely—there is the ground of hope from the development of native leaders. The modern missionary force has, through much discouragement, aimed to develop indigenous lead for its mission Churches. Nor have they wholly failed. At the fiftieth anniversary of the Sandwich Islands we are told that the orator was a man who narrowly escaped being buried alive by his heathen mother, and that he held an audience of three thousand persons for more than an hour by his eloquent address, delivered without note or comment. The Theological Seminary of the Karens has been left in the charge of natives, and suffered no loss. In the Jaffna College of Ceylon, and in the Tamil seats of learning, natives have been successful professors. Of one hundred and eighteen delegates at the Allahabad Conference twenty were native Hindus of various castes and languages. They sat side by side as peers with graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, Amherst, Williams, Yale, Princeton, Alleghany, and Dickinson colleges. Recognized leaders of religious reform have also arisen among the Hindus, such as Babu Keshab Chunder Sen, about whom the semi-Christian revolt against Hindu idolatry gathers.

Taking all these component facts together, what might not some Christian native leader, competent for the emergency, do in leading a general movement toward Christianity? It is always possible that from among the multitudes thronging the bazaars, dreaming in the jungle, pondering philosophical problems, some one may be arrested by a tract, instructed in the school, trained in the seminary, with a head like that of Loyola, and heart like that superstitious monk of Wurtemburg, who redeemed half Europe, and, dying, bequeathed to the world a Protestant Church and an open Bible—who, we say, with a head like that of Loyola, and heart stirred like that of

Luther, subtle with all the subtlety of the East, wise with all the practical knowledge of the West, shall be to his people what no foreign evangelist can ever become, the leader of a grand Christian reformation, revival, or awakening, which shall sweep from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from sea to sea. One such Christianized Hindu might revolutionize all India. One such converted Moslem might reorganize half of Asia.

To say nothing of the supernatural force promised in prophecy, and looking only to human means, we ask, "If Mohammed were possible, why is this a dream?" Such is the combination of disturbing forces in India that one Turanian Peter the Hermit might break in pieces all Hindu systems, one Bengali Chrysostom might move and remold the mighty masses of the Ganges, one Tamil Whitefield might sweep Southern India with revival flame, one Indian Wesley might inaugurate on the plains of Hindustan a numerically mightier Methodism than Europe or America has yet seen.

But what is the relation of the work whose history is sketched in this book to other missionary work in India, and to the state of things we have sketched? Thus far we have treated only of the indications and forces within purely native society. There is, however, another element of power and hope, and to it Taylor turned, not with the supposition that it was ripe as a spiritual agency, but that by patient preparatory labor it might become so. As the Jews, scattered in all lands, speaking all languages, familiar with all local social usages, components or adjuncts of all communities, might, if converted to Christ, become at once a ubiquitous, indigenous missionary force; so one feels, in turning to India, that the sixty-four thousand Europeans and the ninety thousand Eurasians (so called because one parent is European) residing in that peninsula are so systematically distributed over India that, without any change in locality or occupation, they might readily become an almost ubiquitous missionary force, and a chief means of a general awakening.

As long ago as 1866, Bishop Cotton, of India, spoke of the causes which must continually add to the number of this community, "sharing our English blood and our Christian creed." He gave a graphic picture of their wide distribution in India.

Along the five thousand miles of trunk railway, with feeders and branches, are European observers, firemen, mechanics, and guards, with their families or without them, in considerable communities, smaller groups, or in isolated houses. Connected with the agricultural operations of the valley of Assam, the plain of Cachar, the beautiful Himalaya Districts of Kumaon and Kangra, with tea plantations and other industries, is an ever-augmenting foreign community. Added to these are government clerks, dependents, planted at intervals all over India; officers of coasting and river steamers; collectors of customs, as in the Salt Districts, ten or twenty miles apart, from the Punjab to Central India; tradesmen, surveyors, contractors; and below these of definite occupations and means of livelihood, fallen into reckless living, and found in the back slums of great cities like Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, or wandering along the roads.

All these classes feel in greater or less degree a moral loneliness in India, and being without moral restraints and checks from society, and in the absence of Christian principles so powerful elsewhere to the prevention of at least outward immorality, often, in many cases, exert an influence antagonistic to Christianity, and not unfrequently justify Brother Taylor's strong assertion that they are "heathenizing the heathen."

Missionaries have given but meager attention to this class, because they felt themselves sent primarily to labor among idolaters; and experience proved that it was impracticable that the same person should do efficient work in both directions simultaneously, and they had not sufficient force for division of their laborers. We have no station in our India Conference in which liberal attention has not been given religiously to European residents.

The class can better be reached by specific, concentrated, and organized labor for their welfare. To be efficient and conserve results of labor it must extend as necessities seemed to require over India. No missionary society could authorize its agents thus to divert or distribute their feeble force. Successful work directly among the heathen demands concentration and localization of effort. Missionary experience has demonstrated nothing more conclusively in India than that success is greatest where a small territory is well worked, than

where a large one is feebly occupied; and that a society which plants its missions in more places than it can find the force and funds to develop, is open to the charge of folly and pride.

William Taylor turned his attention to this class, and to all English-speaking peoples as well, not only with a view to their own salvation, but with the aim and the hope of their becoming a great evangelistic agency among the heathen. Much of the work, most of it in fact, is simply English work for English people, few natives having been reached, and its members being mostly from the middle class of European residents. "The first three years of its eventful history" afford us nothing conclusive by showing whether this method will be more successful than others have been in influencing the natives. There are some things plainly to be hoped for, prominent among which is the development of a large unpaid agency among Europeans in India. Few persons in estimating the result of foreign missions and their cost as compared with the same in home work, estimate the amount of voluntary labor and unreported contribution that goes to the latter, and its almost entire absence of the same from the foreign field.

The success of the scheme which Brother Taylor presses involves the development of like unpaid Christian labor in India among the foreign and Christian population particularly. Already this has supplemented ordinary agencies with a large amount of voluntary labor of lay agents, both European and native. In Bombay are a half dozen who preach in Marathi; in Madras "Lawyer Gordon" and other able European laymen preach in Tamil. A civil engineer, transferred from the Bombay Church to Hyderabad, holds "meetings," and speedily a Church of a hundred and seven communicants demands a pastor; while a regiment of soldiers carries the Methodistic flame from Poona to Kurrachee and Kotree, and Rev. F. Goodwin becomes pastor of a Church of nearly a hundred members. There are few probabilities, however, that the application of this voluntary force to educational work can be successful beyond the most elementary instruction.

One of the difficulties of the general scheme is found in the migratory character of nearly all the population among whom it is chiefly inaugurated within India itself, and the change by

retirement to Europe and substitution by other persons, who must in turn be "adjusted" as an agency to this work. The migration within India, it is true, may be the means of rapid ramification of this work; but that wide ramification may also discover a new danger to be cautiously guarded, for it will tend to the establishment of agents at points so remote from each other as to be not mutually supporting, or to admit of close organization or proper supervision in places where funds will not be forthcoming for the development of any but pastoral work to a few Europeans.

The attention of European and India Christians has been given to the importance of developing this Christian community, and Rev. Mr. Somerville and others have been sent to India as "revivalists," and what is called a "winter mission" has resulted in the sending of a few eminent workers to labor in India during the cool season. All this but shows that Brother Taylor's effort to reach the Europeans meets a recognized want, and none can do less than hope for it the best of results. It may yet so stir the English-speaking peoples of India as to make them a chief agency in India's redemption. It may be the fuse that shall fire, the force that shall combine, all else that we have shown to be in such marvelous readiness for general action.

A second of the chief topics with which the contents of this book are allied is benevolent, and, especially, missionary economics. This is presented in three or more aspects.

The first form in which it appears is one which we can little more than state. It is found in Brother Taylor's independently maintaining his family and meeting some portions of his individual expenses while conducting his evangelistic work. He relies on books, as Paul relied at times on his trade as tent-maker. This plan of work has had many illustrations on the foreign mission field. Miss Baxter of Hong Kong, Miss Aldersey of Ningpo in former years, Miss Whateley, daughter of the archbishop, laboring among the Fellahs of Egypt, and Mrs. Watson of Mount Lebanon, are noble examples of this self-abnegation in our own day. Many, very many converts from heathenism have exhibited a like devotion, though our space will not permit us to even mention eminent names. In the exhibition of general selfishness in the world, one can but admire this self-denying conduct.

We must, however, guard against an approval which implies acceptance of this as the chief method of conducting mission work. There must be some concert and organization which can distribute laborers in various fields as necessity may demand, and experience shall suggest to be wise. The general council of all Christian laborers which gives direction and proportion to labor, which finds its expression in boards of management, is a necessity to prevent "wrong missions to wrong places and among wrong peoples." Nor can the general Church be relieved of the claim on it for proportionate labor as expressed in systematic collections and institutions for training missionaries, and which in fact should pervade schemes of education of youth, projects of commerce, plans of government, and all other social and personal thought and action. These persons alluded to may be ensamples but not substitutes. As a rule, the call to go implies the call to send. The missionary spirit must pervade society, and show itself in all secular life. James I. and Charles I. proclaimed in 1662 that their special motive in encouraging the American colonies was their zeal for the extension of the Gospel. The seal of the Massachusetts colony was an Indian, with the Macedonian invitation, "Come over and help us!" These but illustrate the spirit which should pervade all forms of Christian life, personal and communal.

The second of these monetary features is the announcement of a "self-supporting plan" of conduct of mission work. It is very desirable that we get all the wisdom or inspiration possible on this topic, and we regret the apparent or real confusion of statement in the book on the matter. It is asserted that "one peculiarity of the work is that it is self-sustaining," (p. 130,) and we are told that Agra was ceded as a mission to the India Conference "provided they would conduct it on our self-supporting principles," (p. 328,) and he declares that "our mission Conference in the north" cannot "live on the principle" on which this is "to run," (p. 164,) and he expresses his belief that "God wishes to demonstrate the soundness," etc., of his "own Gospel methods of aggression, one principle of which is self-sustentation," (p. 164.) This is all plain enough, but presently we find a limitation of the term "self-support," and subsequently what seems to us the abandonment or denial of it.

1. "Our *principle* applies particularly to the support of ministers of the Gospel," (p. 156,) and "what I have pledged our India people for specially is the support of their ministerial workers," (p. 404.) Cawnpore is called "the first self-supporting mission in the Conference," though money was appropriated by the board of building, etc., (p. 46.) This is certainly not a sense in which the term "self-support" has been used, and would scarcely seem to justify so serious an announcement of the divine purpose to "demonstrate its soundness," etc.

The missionaries engaged in this work are in large measure pastors of European congregations, and much of their work is with English people. Were these Europeans to rely on American contributions for the support of their pastors it would be manifestly wrong. Yet it is only in this sense of pastoral support that the Cawnpore mission could be called "self-supporting," for it took no precedence in the amount of missionary moneys contributed locally over other missions. The second year of the Lucknow Mission (1862) the local contributions were $2,369, and those of Nynee Tal for the same year were $2,756. The second year of the Cawnpore Station as "self-supporting" its local income was $1,189. The same year (1874) Nynee Tal received $3,556, Shahjehanpore $3,979, Paori $2,506, and Bareilly $2,406 as local revenue. He seemingly modifies even this pastoral-support plan, for, on page 156, he illustrates it by "our Churches in America" which receive aid from the Missionary Society "for the beginning of work in their bounds too poor to start of itself," which logically would carry with it aid to support pastors "when too poor to start" that alone; which is, in fact, the case, as the work of our Missionary Society in the United States consists of the support of missionaries, more than one fourth of the entire ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church being supported in whole or in part by the Missionary Society. [There are 10,923 itinerant preachers and over 3,000 missionaries at work in the United States.]

The Presbyterian Church has, perhaps, more than one fifth of its pastors, possibly one fourth, thus aided by its home missionary and sustentation funds. These have been considered to be judicious expenditures, but we suppose nobody ever thought of calling these "self-supporting" Churches. On all our Conference minutes they are registered as "missions."

2. When we read a phrase like this, "There are resources enough in India of men and money to run at least one great mission," (p. 156,) our next thought is that it is meant that whatever aid for pastoral support, or other purpose beyond what the specific Church or locality is able to furnish, is to be raised in India, and we are ready to accept that as explaining the "self-supporting principle." Such missions have been very successfully "run." One at Ghazeepore has been long in operation on this plan. Rev. Mr. Wilder conducted the Kalapoor Mission through twelve of the most expensive years of its successful life entirely on contributions of a local character.

Unfortunately, however, even this fails to adjust the phrases found in the book. We read that "one appropriation of funds from any missionary society would set upon us the brand-mark of existing Indian missions, and tend to bring us down to their dead level," (p. 164,) and it seems to confirm our view, but is at once followed by the announcement that it is "no infringement of self-support" to accept funds from individuals in other lands, or from any missionary society to any extent, (pp. 156, 157, 396, 397;) so that this "self-supporting" mission may secure its expenses from (1) the Churches; (2) "indigenous resources" of the country; (3) or by "foreign funds." There is much emphasis laid upon this order of application for money, but this would scarcely constitute it "self-supporting;" and as any body knows these are apt to be conducted simultaneously, the principle does not always appear prominently to be "self-support," nor do we see why the North India Mission "could not live" on this plan. It would better accord with these statements and with the facts if it were called a self-originated and self-helpful mission; for moneys have been raised in India "for work too poor to start of itself," and aid largely and freely solicited in Scotland and America for the Cawnpore school, and American aid given to the Calcutta Church; and it is probable that the work could be much more rapidly developed than now if it could have large contributions from our Missionary Society other than what it has had, though that has been no inconsiderable sum. Brother Taylor asks the Missionary Committee to send men, (p. 164,) which covers the *principle* of aid from them, and the work is by so much not "self-supporting."

There is some reason to fear lest our Methodist community

may receive the impression that our missionaries in North India have not been as careful to secure contributions in India as they might have been, and some danger that we will forget our obligations to the Europeans, and both heathen and Christian natives who have contributed to our work. Very much or most of the money for our Southern India work is contributed by the same class which has always from the first, and often in advance, aided our own and other missions in India.

We have seen it stated that as long ago as 1866 one sixth of the whole cost of Protestant missions in India was subscribed by people in India, and one fifteenth by native converts themselves. Rev. Dr. Mullens, in his statistical tables of India missions for 1871, shows that £50,000 sterling were annually contributed to the various missionary societies in India out of their official income, in the midst of their official labors, by men who were toiling in India to accumulate sufficient funds to enable them to retire to England, a fact honorable to the men, and decisive of the reality of the good being accomplished by the missions. He also shows that as early as 1861 natives in India connected with the various missions contributed $109,046 annually to this work.

Our own mission has had a remarkable record. At the very initiation of our India Mission, and "in advance" of the appointment of the missionaries, Europeans in India in 1858 (while the smoke of the mutiny was not yet cleared away) pledged Dr. Butler to contribute one half the cost of six missionary residences if the men could be sent to occupy them; a proposition which they met and extended to six more, and subsequently fulfilled in the case of every missionary residence in our field. In 1860 Dr. Butler wrote to our Mission Board that they had $30,000 worth of property in India, more than half of which money was raised in India, which he says does not show all they have done, for besides all else they have enabled us to support our schools without calling on the Board for funds. Well might he say: "We have asked and received aid such as no missionary society has ever realized in a foreign land and at the hand of strangers." In 1867 the contributions in India were within thirteen hundred dollars of being one half as much as the Missionary Society appropriated to India for that year. In 1865 the Bareilly District alone raised

$13,175 gold, of which Rev. Dr. Waugh says, "few districts in home conferences raise so large a sum, and some conferences report much less."

Nor was this a spasmodic benevolence, as the following will show. The amounts raised in India for our North India mission work, including property, press, school, preachers, itinerating expenses, etc., is for the years respectively as follows: For 1858, $2,125; for 1859, $6,228; for 1860, $6,922; for 1861, $7,306; for 1862, $8,573; for 1863, $9,310; for 1864, $14,718; for 1865, $21,344; for 1866, $19,585; for 1867, $16,555; for 1868, $23,085; for 1869, $22,585; for 1870, $24,478; for 1871, $28,837; for 1872, $27,373; for 1873, $23,003; for 1874, $25,444; for 1875, (estimated,) $25,000. Besides which there have been large contributions of property not herein included. These contributions, it will be remembered, were in British gold. It would be sufficiently moderate to place the cost of gold and exchange during five years of our war at one hundred per cent., and during the other years at twenty per cent., and thus this will be seen to approximate a contribution in our currency of half a million of dollars.

A somewhat careful estimate of the number of American missionaries on the field from the beginning till now will show that this sum would not only have paid all their salaries, but have left a very liberal margin for the support of native helpers.* Nor is our own Society exceptionally faithful and fortunate, for a summary of Mr. Scott Robinson's tables shows that the British Societies contributed to the Foreign Missions £900,000, and that more than £200,000 had been given by the missions themselves.

Brother Taylor says that appropriations to mission Churchse "in advance will, in most cases, supersede indigenous resources," (p. 397,) and "hinder, if not preclude, a healthy development" (p. 157) of the work; and "one appropriation of funds from any missionary society would set upon us the brand-mark of existing Indian missions, and tend to bring us down to their dead level," (p. 164.)

There are no persons more open to suggestive criticism, nor

* The average has been fifteen missionaries. If all received the salary of married men, counted at the early appropriation of $1,080, and the later one of $1,200, for a man and his wife, it would leave more than $150,000 surplus.

more ready to improve their methods, than foreign missionaries and the managers of such societies in the home boards. Such look with great eagerness to all opportunities to economize their funds, and reap the speediest and most permanent return from expenditures. They have experimented with almost all possible methods, and have not unfrequently made important changes in the same. We are not, however, of conviction that, with exceptional cases, circumstances, and localities, they have failed in prudent administration of their funds, when judged even by the tendency to develop indigenous resources on foreign fields among converts.

The native Churches of Hawaii have contributed, since 1870, more than seventy thousand dollars to carry the Gospel to the Marquesas Islands. One single Church sustains five foreign missionaries in the field, and some Churches contribute an average of four dollars and ten cents per member. There are fifty-seven Churches in the Sandwich Islands which sustain seventeen foreign missionaries.* The Micronesian Islands have twenty Churches with a thousand members who contributed in their monthly missionary concerts, in one year, one thousand dollars, and sent ten catechists to labor among a population entirely foreign to them.

Fifty years ago there was not a native Christian in the Friendly Islands; yet the Rev. Mr. Dare said at the Round Lake Camp-meeting, in 1873, that during each year, for two years previous, the native Churches there had contributed twenty-five thousand dollars for the support of the Gospel among themselves, and fifteen thousand dollars for foreign missions; thus supporting fifty-two ministers and nine hundred catechists. We have seen their contribution stated much higher on good authority. In Australia the native ministry is entirely supported by native contributions, and the Tongataban (Wesleyan) Circuit, at the last quarterly meeting of 1875, had one hundred pounds surplus after paying eleven ministers and all other demands. The Tonguese raise seventy thousand dollars for religious purposes, twenty thousand of which is for foreign work, Ko-thah-byu was the first Karen baptized That was in 1828. There are now three hundred and forty

* Fourteen islands of the group with fourteen thousand Church members, gave forty thousand dollars in 1872.

seven self-supporting native Churches among the Karen Baptists. The London Mission of Hong Kong, China, has two hundred and sixteen members, who support, by voluntary subscription, two of their own native preachers, meet all Church expenses, and have a mission at Fanshan, founded by them without foreign aid, where they pay the salaries of a native pastor and a school teacher. Rev. C. H. Wheeler said in 1872: "Of the nineteen Churches about Harpoot, Turkey, fifteen are independent of foreign aid and the other four nearly so; while four other communities in which Churches will soon be formed already support their pastors, and six others where there are like prospects pay half the salaries, and in fifteen other communities the work of self-support has already begun." The mission Churches of the American Board in Asia contributed, in 1874, forty-five thousand dollars. When Bishop Kingsley visited China, in 1869, our Foochow Mission adopted the principle of estimating the ability of each circuit to support their Churches and pastor, and to make definite appropriation to meet the balance necessary for the support of the native preachers.

Nor is India wholly excepted from this general and satisfactory showing of the results of what Brother Taylor must consider to be "appropriations in advance," if they are to be found anywhere. The Basl Missionary Society in West India reports that "almost all heads of native families have an income of less than $5 per month, (to support say five persons,) and yet the communicants contribute on an average seventy-five cents per year. The London Missionary Society says of its missions on the Malabar coast: "Several of the Churches are self-supporting; the contributions have reached $7,000 a year, which, considering what is paid for labor in that country, is equal to $40,000 at least of our currency." The South India Mission of the Church of England Missionary Society contributed one year $13,582 gold. In Travancore the annual contributions per member were creditable, and in Madras the natives gave an average of seventy-eight cents, gold. Of Travendum Rev. J. Duthie said, as far back as 1866, that one thousand and sixty native Church members contributed during the year $1,146 50 for Church objects. This church is entirely self-supporting, and has for a number of years past paid the salary of

its pastor, two catechists, three school-masters, two Bible women, and one medical evangelist.

In our own Methodist Mission in North India the Amroha Circuit is presided over by a native preacher converted from Islam. The chapel and parsonage were paid for by the native Christians, and three years ago they contributed fairly toward their pastor's support. In 1873 Rev. C. W. Judd reported from Bareilly, "Almost all contribute something for the support of the Gospel in some way;" and from Budaon we read, "The membership is learning to give creditably for religious purposes." "Every year we shall put more men on the self-supporting column." Says Rev. E. W. Parker: "In a Quarterly Conference to-day (1874) a committee retired to determine the preacher's salary, and they will raise it." He also says, "The entire income of the native Christians not acting as preachers within the bounds of the entire India Mission does not amount to $6,000 annually." They say that whenever their preachers can be supported by the native Christians giving one twentieth of their entire income for this object they will withdraw all applications for assistance in that work.

In the Rohilcund District Conference, in December, 1873, there were eighty-two members present, who adopted an important paper setting forth that "such a thing as total dependence on foreign aid is unknown in any of our Churches," there being only partial dependence in any case. They say the profession of Christianity militates against them pecuniarily; that those capable of large business ventures, and who might thereby contribute largely, have been taken for mission work as evangelists, etc.; that the income of the majority of their number is per head scarcely a tenth of the lowest income of our American laborer; and that the tendency to improvement which Christianity provokes, increases their expenses without a corresponding increase at present of their income. They say though they support their pastors there are ten evangelists wanted for one pastor, and it is unreasonable to expect them to meet this expense. We might have shown the actual field of operations in the various missions have, with few exceptions, been greatly enlarged with but little increase of expenditure. In the case of the American Board between 1865 and 1875 the work increased forty per cent. and the cost but very little.

We do not see, taken all in all, that our Churches, mission boards, and missionaries, have any "occasion to distrust" their methods, or to be discouraged at the results of their labor.

We have not room to discuss the remaining economical questions raised in the book, which refer to the cost of missionary living, and the development of self-reliance and self-helpfulness of converts from heathendom. We regret that Mr. T. should say (p. 155) that a "social standing equal to that of an officer in the army" is considered essential to the success of a missionary, and propose that his preachers should "live on a subsistence allowance," as if that were exceptional economy. Living is exceptionally expensive in India, and yet the salaries of all the societies range from $1,000 to $1,200 for married men; in China from $800 to $1,000; in Bulgaria and Western Asia from $650 to $900; and for unmarried missionaries from one half to one third these amounts, sums which the most careful economy has proved to be only "subsistence allowance," and so proverbially below the salaries of Europeans in India as to give moral force to their teachings among the natives.

Our South India work, it is true, economizes by "supporting" only a celibate ministry as yet; but their work is only in a rudimentary state, and success and proper example and influence of the missionaries implies an increase of cost.

The spirit and purpose of the portion of the work which treats of "the Compound System," as he calls all efforts to help native converts temporally, we most heartily approve, though we deem his phrase unfortunately extreme. We cannot discuss the subject, but may hint that there are very many cases in which it would be impossible to "send them back to their friends and kindred," (p. 160,) or to remain in "whatsoever calling" they may have followed previously. For the full discussion of this theme we must refer our readers to the published Report of the Allahabad Conference, held in 1872. We can only illustrate our own assertion by the convert who has followed trade or arts connected with idol making or festivals of false deities, idolatrous sacrifices, and by instances where the form of taking possession of a legacy is connected with heathen rites, and the person is reduced to poverty if not obtained. As to returning them to their homes, etc., we may simply say, with the Indian Evangelical Review: "The course

he recommends is almost always simply impossible unless the young convert will either (in most cases) renounce Christianity, or else retain certain marks on his person or clothing which may be innocent in themselves, but which are always regarded by the people as the distinctive marks of the old religion."

No one system has, however, been found to be the best for all parts of India. There certainly have been evils connected with the methods of aiding persecuted converts, and those whose occupation is destroyed by their becoming Christians. But when gathered on co-operative farms or factories, such as our Panahpore Christian Village, they may become a light in the darkness about them; the missionary may give them better and more systematic attention, their children can be gathered into schools; they are more removed from the debasing influences of heathendom and are afforded pastoral care, and religious social privileges, such as they cannot have when living alone, or in little groups of two or ten. Besides, these converts, weak and ignorant, set off in heathen communities, are poor representatives of the Christian light and knowledge, and often even of its power.

Another of the great topics of missionary policy which we have not room to discuss is the Church relations of missions. The India missionaries long since entered into an unwritten compact to occupy separate portions of India, for the purpose of avoiding conflict among their converts, and for the more speedy and thorough evangelization of the land. Our own Methodist Episcopal Church assumed the responsibility of Oudh, Rohilcund, etc. The large commercial cities were left free to all missionary workers by common consent. Brother Taylor's work in some sense outside of these great cities would seem to conflict with this compact if it should succeed in the conversion of many natives, because he has organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in each place for the converts. The Allahabad Conference, however, seems to have conceded that his work was exceptional, and they did not condemn this feature of it.

This leaves only the question of the bearings of this widely spreading Church in its relation to the India Church of the future. There are those who think that the organized sects of Protestants ought not to seek to reproduce their various ecclesiastical

systems and polity into missionary fields, but seek to develop an indigenous and united Church in each land. Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his "New Model of Christian Missions," would have all Christian Protestant missions under one leadership. The attempt is being made in Mexico to establish "The Church of Jesus," and in Italy and Japan the blending of the denominations in Church organization is being attempted. Thus far, however, the result seems only to be to add another "Church" to the many already extant in these lands. It seems impossible at present to harmonize all in this movement, however desirable it may seem to be in some particulars. Meanwhile we have the assurance that the reproduction of these various denominational forms in heathen lands may show the heathen the oneness of Christians notwithstanding trifling differences; may teach them how to conduct that controversy and conflict of intellect which unfolds truth as it could not otherwise be discovered. Besides, even could we harmonize as sects in formal organization, it would not prevent the recurrence of the same diversity of theological view among the converts from heathendom, as the views of Christian theology which the sects represent are imbedded in the Scriptures, as in human psychology and metaphysics. Sect-forms may, perhaps, be credited with one advantage. In presenting the various creeds and polities, they have forestalled the reproduction of other distorted presentations of Christian theology, and the systematic and thorough representation of historical theology, made by them, has given us the most remarkable, yea, most astonishing fact, that no new heresy has arisen in connection with modern missions.

Besides the general defense which could be made for Brother Taylor in thus organizing every-where the Methodist Episcopal Church for the care of converts, there are specific ones which we cannot, for lack of room, enumerate. We believe the whole Christian Church, which recognizes vital godliness as distinct from ritualistic righteousness, may well rejoice in this movement and organization of our South India Mission. Some bold general aggressive work of the Christian Church looking to the presentation of spirituality as opposed to formalism, seems absolutely demanded to save Protestantism in India among the foreigners and middle English-speaking classes. The Church

of England in India has, of late years, become "High-Church" in its tendencies to an alarming degree. The various dissenting bodies of Europe do not seem just now ready to organize, and conduct a general and strong counteracting movement in India. Hence the sympathy which our mission commands among these persons in India, and the attraction it presents to those within the English Church who appreciate spirituality as opposed to formalism and ritualism.

We cannot fail to recognize the relation of all that is done in India to the work of evangelization of Asia. "India redeemed, Asia is the Lord's," was the sentiment and belief of Bishop Thomson, with which we heartily sympathize, and which lack of space alone prevents our attempting to explain, illustrate, and demonstrate. God bless William Taylor and the Methodist Episcopal Missions of all India! God bless all the missions of all the Churches in all places!

Art. IV.—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN METHODISM CONTRASTED.

As an exposition of Christian doctrine, the Methodism of Great Britain and the United States of America exactly coincides. Though separated, as we sometimes find them, by oceans, mountains, rivers, lakes, and prairies, the pulpits of the two great Anglo-Saxon families of Methodism invariably ring the same note. In each country the same triune God is adored, the same terrible apostasy is lamented, and the same glorious provision of divine mercy is offered for acceptance. In each country the distressed penitent is taught to look for relief, not to any meritorious works that he can perform or to any imaginary treasury of merit that fellow-mortals have accumulated for him, not to any sacerdotal efficacy lodged in certain officers of the Church, nor to any supposed virtue in the penances or sacraments which the Church may have enjoined, but to the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," and to him alone. In each country the believer is encouraged to expect the witness of the Spirit to his adoption,

and to strive for a state of grace in which his character and experience will be mature and complete. In each country he is comforted with the prospect of a future resurrection, and of a gracious recognition and approval at the bar of infinite justice; and in each country he is taught to anticipate, if faithful unto death, the eternal felicities of a world of unmingled purity, happiness, and glory.

But while these cardinal doctrines form the base of the theological structure of Methodism on both sides of the Atlantic, and are guarded with equal jealousy by each, there seems to have been, at least in former years, a lack of flexibility on the part of the Wesleyan Church in dealing with other views, some of which are not only outside of the denominational standards, but which are regarded by other evangelical Churches as matters which are open to further inquiry. Thus not many years have passed since a Wesleyan minister was expelled from the ministry for preaching what are understood as millenarian tenets. Within a still briefer period another shared the same fate for expressing in public the opinion that the offspring of sanctified parents partake of their moral purity; and only two or three years ago another was dealt with in a similar way, because he repudiated the class-meeting as a scriptural test of Church membership.

In each of these instances the accused parties displayed some pertinacity in the defense of their opinions, which, whether it arose from the strength of their convictions, or from carelessness as to their fate, certainly tended to accelerate their doom. A more liberal spirit, however, is now rapidly gaining ground in the British Conference, and in a few years these and similar acts of severity will be remembered with as little complacency as Calvin must have reflected on the burning of Servetus.

Regarding Methodism *as an ecclesiastical organization*, the points of diversity between the two branches are more numerous.

In the machinery of Wesleyan Methodism the class-meeting occupies a very eminent place. It is the primary cell from which the society, the circuit, the district, and the conference are evolved; it is the unit on which the whole fiscal economy rests; and, as has been intimated, it is the *sine qua non* of membership itself.

The importance attached to class-meetings by Wesleyan Methodists may be accounted for on historical grounds. Methodism was originally *a society in the Church of England.* It consisted of members of that establishment who failed to find in its formal services, and in the dry morality taught in its pulpits, that spiritual aliment which they required, and hence, while retaining their connection with it, availed themselves of the evangelical theology and devotional appliances provided by the Wesleys. By meeting in class such persons not only participated in that communion of saints which Scripture enjoins as the privilege and duty of believers, but afforded a sign that they concurred in the movement which the two brothers originated. Hence the class-meeting eventually became the test of membership—not in the Church, for many persons who disapproved of Methodism remained members of the Church of England—but the test of membership in the Wesleyan society; and though since then the relation which Methodism sustains to the Church of England has undergone a great change, especially since the "High Church" principles began to prevail in the latter, until Methodism shall openly renounce its association with it, and take its legitimate position as a distinct Church, the original test will probably retain its original significance.

American Methodism, on the other hand, commenced its astonishing career unfettered by tradition and unburdened by precedent. It adopted the class-meeting as a valuable means of grace, but regarded attendance on other means of grace, such as the ministry of the word and the sacrament, as of equal obligation.

In the ministry of Wesleyan Methodism, for reasons which will be afterward explained, the pastoral feature is to a great extent lacking. In order to supply this deficiency as far as possible, the preacher is expected to visit each class during the quarter, and after having heard the religious experience of those who are present, to give to each a ticket on which a passage of Scripture is printed, and on which the minister has written his own name and that of the member to whom it is handed. These tickets are the Church credentials of the holder. They secure admission to love-feasts, and similar social meetings; and as a new ticket is issued every three months, the possession of the one for the current quarter is a

sufficient guarantee that the holder of it is a recognized member of the body, in whatever part of the country he may happen to be. Though the distribution of these tickets involves a good deal of extra labor on the part of the preacher, the plan works well; and while objections have been raised against every other peculiar feature in the economy of Methodism, no one has ever assailed the ticket system. It possesses at least this advantage over the American method, that it requires every one who wishes to be considered as a member to come in contact periodically with the minister and Church members of the place where he then resides; and thus that anomalous state of things is rendered impossible in which a person may absent himself from the means of grace, withhold contributions for the support of the Gospel, and even live in a backsliding state, and yet claim membership with the Church on the ground that he has somewhere in his keeping a worn-out letter of dismissal, written months, or even years previously by some preacher of a distant conference in a remote region in the United States.

The duties of the *leaders' meeting* of the Wesleyan Methodist Society so closely resembles those which are discharged by the court of the same name in American Methodism, as to require no further notice.

The *quarterly meeting*, or, as it would be called in this country, the Quarterly Conference, is composed of the traveling preachers; the local preachers of three years' standing; the circuit, society, chapel, and poor stewards; the trustees and class-leaders; the superintendent preacher (or preacher in charge) taking the chair. At this meeting a circuit steward is annually elected, whose duty it is to keep the circuit accounts, to provide a comfortable and well-furnished house for the minister, and to welcome him on his arrival. He receives the moneys raised in the various societies, and pays the preacher the stipend which the circuit has fixed upon at previous meetings as its allowance. In some instances the receipts, when all accounted for, do not realize the sum agreed upon; but in such cases the circuit steward usually advances the deficiency from his own private resources, and such deficiency is regarded as a circuit debt. Gentlemen are usually elected to the office of circuit steward whose circumstances enable them to make such

advances without inconvenience; but should such circuit debt, after being carried to the following quarter, remain unliquidated, it is usual to assess the various societies in proportion to the average amount they pay in; and should this also fail, recourse is had to public collections, tea-meetings, lectures, bazaars, or some other method of raising money.

Such an officer as a circuit steward is not only considered honorable by the incumbents, inasmuch as it is a manifestation of the respect and confidence of the circuit, but is considered by the English preachers as exceedingly useful to themselves. In him, that authority which in America is divided among the whole board of stewards is centralized. Hence, the preacher on an English circuit is never exposed to the mortification, after "calling a meeting of officials," of finding himself the only one present. The circuit steward having authority during the interval between the preceding and following quarterly meeting to meet all legitimate claims which may be made upon the circuit, on arriving at a new field of labor he not only finds the lists of names, residences of members, and times and places of preaching, which his predecessor has left, but a "living epistle" in the person of the circuit steward, whose explanations elucidate all circuit matters far more effectually than writing can do, and whose hearty shake of the hand often helps to reconcile him to a field of labor which would be equivalent to what in the West would be considered as a "grasshopper district."

The division of circuits; the desirability of an additional preacher; the erection and enlargement of new places of worship; the examination and approval of local preachers; the examination of candidates for the ministry, and their recommendation to the district meeting, (as it is there called,) are all duties of the quarterly meeting; and although beyond its province, and severely censured by the stationing committee, many quarterly meetings of late have been in the habit of selecting and inviting preachers for the following year. This practice, which is becoming exceedingly prevalent, unless checked by wise legislation is likely at no distant date to be the source of trouble and perplexity, inasmuch as it is an assumption on the part of the laity of that liberty of choice which both they and the ministers voluntarily surrender when they give the

conference the power of appointing preachers to their fields of labor. The admission of the laity into conference, which seems likely to become a part of Wesleyan Methodist polity at no very distant period, will tend to rectify this evil, or at least deprive it of its most objectionable features.

The *district meeting* is second only to the Annual Conference in the power with which it is intrusted. It consists of all the traveling preachers in the district, whether on probation or in full connection. One day of the session, however, is open to circuit stewards, when purely financial business is transacted. In the district meeting charges against traveling preachers are examined and disposed of, applications for aid from distressed chapels and schools are considered, candidates for the itinerancy are approved or rejected, the numerical state of the several circuits ascertained and recorded, a representative to sit with the chairman of the district on the stationing committee at the following conference is elected, and a general examination is instituted respecting every department of the work within the bounds of the district.

There are two officers in whose prudence and general ability the efficiency of the district meeting mainly depend, namely, the chairman and secretary, both of whom are elected at the previous conference by the preachers in the district after the list of appointments has been finally read. It is the duty of the chairman to preside at district meetings, and to exercise a general oversight and superintendence over the whole work within the boundaries of his district; to attend quarterly meetings when invited to do so by the superintendent preacher of such circuit; to provide supplies for vacant charges; and should any emergency arise requiring the exercise of discipline in the interval between the district meeting and conference, it is his duty to call a minor district meeting, consisting of four ministers, two chosen by the accuser, and two by the accused, to try a preacher; and if found guilty, to suspend him until the ensuing conference, if deemed expedient.

It is the duty of the secretary of the district, as he is technically called "the financial secretary," to record the proceedings of the district committee; to obtain the various statistics from each circuit, and to arrange and tabulate them in such a way as to facilitate the business of the Annual Conference.

There are many advantages which Wesleyan Methodism derives from its district committee meetings. The advantage which the preacher in full connection derives from them are obvious. He thereby acquires a thorough acquaintance with the condition of every circuit in the district, and with the experience thus acquired is able to discharge the duties required of a minister more intelligently; he obtains an education which will qualify him for the office of a chairman himself, should it be conferred upon him; and if circumstances needing judicial investigation should occur, he can confidently expect that in the hands of persons who are in the district, many of whom are acquainted with the peculiarities of each point, a just and impartial verdict will be given. The advantage to the people consists in its inexpensiveness, and in its freedom from prejudice or partisanship. The chairman of the district, like the rest of his brethren, is appointed to a charge, and from it he derives his support; the slight traveling expenses which may be incurred by an occasional visit to another circuit being the only expense which the circuit he visits is expected to defray. The advantage to the chairman of the district himself consists in his being spared the toil and danger of constant traveling, and unnecessary visits to charges whose condition is such as to need no such interference. Considering that by the adoption of district meetings the General Conference has manifested a desire to approximate to the English system; considering that the political genius of the national government is in direct opposition to the centralization of power in the hands of individuals; considering the great expense which the system of presiding eldership entails upon the people; and considering the general dissatisfaction which prevails in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject, the time may not be far distant when the scaffolding of presiding eldership, which, however ornamental, adds no stability to the structure, and was only designed to be of temporary value, will be removed, and another appliance substituted bearing a close resemblance in its simplicity and effectiveness to that which from an early period has been tested by the Wesleyan Methodists of Great Britain.

The only court which remains to be noticed is the Annual Conference, the presiding officer of which is elected by the

asembled ministers at the commencement of its session. His term of office is for one year, and his duties during the sittings of the conference and during the following year correspond to those of the episcopacy in the American Church, except that he is not expected to be always traveling, nor to interfere in any way with the appointments of ministers. Furthermore, he is not relieved by his office from the labors and responsibilities of circuit work. It is usual, however, to appoint with him an extra preacher, (generally an unmarried man,) who acts as his secretary, and occupies his pulpit in his absence, and whose salary is paid out of the Contingent Fund.

The election of the president is immediately followed by the election of a secretary, who is permitted to select three or four assistants, and an equal number of letter-writers.

The general routine of business in the Annual Conferences of Wesleyan Methodism resembles in every respect that of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, except that in England, where General Conferences have not yet been adopted, the Annual Conference is invested with legislative as well as administrative functions. New regulations do not come into force, however, until they have been consented to by a majority of the quarterly meetings held during the ensuing year.

The "Legal Hundred" of Wesleyan Methodism consists of one hundred ministers, vacancies in whose number are filled up half by seniority and half by election. As all ministers in full connection who have obtained leave to be present from the district meetings have a right to vote in conference, the legal fiction is kept up merely to fulfill the conditions of the "poll deed," on which the property of Methodism in its places of worship rests, and to meet a possible contingency which might arise from civil commotion, or from the prevalence of some terrible disease, when it might not be prudent, or even practicable, for a larger number than a hundred ministers to meet in one locality.

The "appointing power" of Wesleyan Methodism rests with the whole conference. A stationing committee, consisting of the chairman of districts and the representatives chosen at the district meetings, meet a week previous to conference and prepare a rough draft of appointments, which is printed and cir-

culated freely among the preachers and the various circuits in the connection. During the sittings of the conference the committee is prepared to receive suggestions which may be made on either side, and which frequently lead to alterations in the list, after which it is read to the conference a second time. The stationing committee still pursue their toil, and toward the close of the conference the third reading takes place, after which no changes are made.

Complaints have been made in this country respecting the secrecy of presiding elders, and the hardship inflicted by it on the ministers at their disposal. The experience of the writer leads him to prefer the American system, supposing it to have such faults, which have been greatly exaggerated, to the English plan. The cases in which genuine merit is overlooked must, in the nature of things, be exceedingly rare. Of all genius it may be said that it "cannot be hid." And those in which it is suppressed and ignored through prejudice, or any other ulterior motive, it is charitable to hope are still less frequent. It is the interest of the appointing power to promote the welfare of Methodism as a whole, including the district, the circuit, and the preacher; and if the preacher is anxious that the right man should be in the right place, those who decide this matter are influenced by an equal amount of anxiety in the same direction. It has been observed that in cases where private influence has been brought to bear on the decisions of the cabinet the results have not been so satisfactory either to the preacher or the charge concerned as to encourage a frequent repetition of it. And though the finality involved in the American mode of appointment may sometimes press rather heavily on the preacher, there are serious evils which from time to time arise in English Methodism from a lack of it. Humiliating scenes have sometimes been witnessed in the English Conference when brethren have occupied its time and appealed to its sympathies in pathetic and tearful requests for better circuits on some purely personal grounds, and in cases where the incapacity of the petitioner would render a favorable reception of his plea destructive to the interests of the cause, all of which must have been exceedingly painful to the assembled brethren; and it seems to be the least of two evils, if such disappointments are inevitable, that any ebullition of

feeling arising from it should be confined to the privacy of the domestic hearth and the seclusion of the closet. Even if such appeals were partially successful, and, in consequence of them, a slight modification were made in the appointment in question, there would be room for the impression that a still more earnest appeal and a more persistent effort would have resulted in a still greater boon; and thus, while beginning by blaming his brethren, he would end by an equally futile condemnation of himself. On the other hand, the American preacher, knowing that after the stations are read off his destination is settled, soon settles down, and learns to look at the brightest side of that which is beyond his power to alter.

In the ministry of the "old country" the Presbyterian order alone is recognized, which is believed to include the diaconate and episcopacy. Junior preachers, who are on probation and have not been ordained, sustain the same relations, and discharge the same offices, as the deacons of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is usual to appoint two or more preachers to each circuit, one of whom is *primus inter pares*, and is called the "superintendent." It is he who prepares the circuit plan, and fixes the times and places where his colleagues are to preach. Circuit business of every kind is usually taken to him to be disposed of, or is reserved for the consideration of the preachers' meeting, which is held weekly.

The charges of the English preachers are all circuits. Stations in the American sense of the term are unknown. Strenuous efforts have been made recently, on two or three successive conferences, by a body of trustees in London, whose chapel was at that time burdened with a heavy debt, to create a station, of which a well-known and eloquent preacher and lecturer was invited to become the pastor; but, though they made most lucrative offers, the conference firmly declined to depart from their established usage. By Wesleyans generally itinerancy is regarded as the glory of Methodism. By itinerancy they mean not simply that provision in their ecclesiastical economy by which the residence of the preacher in a particular locality is limited to a term of years, nor the fact that his destination is in the hands of an appointing power rather than his own choice. They understand by itinerancy the work of itinerating. They understand by itinerating the perambu-

lation of "the great iron wheel" in contradistinction to snugly squatting at the hub. They understand by itinerancy in ecclesiastical science what the theory of Galileo is in the science of astronomy—the theory which gives orbits to its luminaries "forever *moving* as they shine," instead of that of Copernicus, which limits them to one spot in the expanse of night. They conceive that any system which confines a preacher all the year to one congregation, though it may be Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism, or Episcopalianism, is not Methodism, and that when its ministers cease to be traveling preachers, or "round preachers," as they have sometimes been styled, they will have abandoned a feature in their work which, though regarded by other sects as a singular eccentricity, is the only implement by which the world can be "turned upside down."

Local preachers in England find their office to be no sinecure. Some are employed every Sunday, and some have nine or ten appointments during the quarter. In many circuits there are only two or three traveling preachers, while there are a score or more of preaching places to be visited, hence it would be impossible to fill the pulpits without lay assistance. But the co-operation they meet with from this quarter is cordially rendered, and as a whole very efficient.

With respect to the amount and the reliableness of income, the Wesleyan preacher has a great advantage over the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Few preachers in England receive a smaller allowance than £150, ($750.) If he has a family he receives an additional sum of £10 for each boy, and £7 for each girl. Besides this amount, which is considered as quarterage, his house rent, fuel, and medical expenses are paid for him; and as each circuit not only provides a house, but a sufficient outfit of furniture, thus, though constantly on the tramp, he is at least well cared for.

In the American Methodist Church, on the contrary, where a comprehensive and connectional system of finance is wholly lacking, the greatest disparities exist. While some preachers enjoy a larger income than the most favored Wesleyan preacher, the great majority are poorly provided for, and many, it is feared, are in circumstances of great need.

The following is a summary of the sums received for pastoral support by eighty-four circuits in a conference which has

been considered thriving and prosperous, omitting contributions for the support of presiding elders:—

4 paid $1,000 and over.				14 paid $400 and less than $500.			
3 "	800 and less than $900.			14 "	300	"	400.
6 "	700	"	800.	14 "	200	"	300.
2 "	600	"	700.	14 "	100	"	200.
4 "	500	"	600.	7 "	less than $100.		

It may be objected that in consequence of the grasshopper "raid," the report of the last year's income can scarcely be considered as affording a fair view of the average receipts. The following table, therefore, is supplied, which covers the same ground for the previous year:—

7 paid $1,000 and over.				18 paid $400 and less than $500.			
2 "	900 and less than $1,000.			14 "	300	"	400.
4 "	800	"	900.	16 "	200	"	300.
5 "	700	"	800.	2 "	100	"	200.
3 "	600	"	700.	2 "	less than $100.		
8 "	500	"	600.				

Considering that in the whole conference referred to there are only thirty-four parsonages, and that in fifty circuits out of the eighty-four who gave in their reports there were fifty in which the preacher is required to pay house rent, and all other expenses whatsoever out of his income, the preponderance of ministerial comfort indubitably rest with the Wesleyan.

As a financial scheme, the chief source of supply in the Wesleyan Methodist Society is found in the contributions of the members in the various classes; the minimum sum which each is expected to contribute being one penny per week, and one shilling per quarter. Public collections are also made every three months at each preaching place, to afford those an opportunity of contributing to the support of the ministry who, though members of the congregation, are not members of the Society, and do not meet in class. There are every year an increasing number of cases, too, in which chapels become free from debt, and in such cases there is a surplus of income over expenses which is derived from pew rents, which is also brought to the circuit board and assists in paying the salaries of the preachers.

The Auxiliary Preachers and Widows' Fund was established for the purpose of affording a means of subsistence to preachers who through sickness or infirmity were laid aside

from their work, and their widows at their death. It is supported by contributions in the classes, each member being expected to pay at least sixpence annually for this object. According to the last plan sanctioned by the district meetings and conferences, supernumerary preachers receive annuities from this fund in the following proportion:—

Those who have traveled		12 years	are entitled to	£15	annually.
"	"	18	"	20	"
"	"	24	"	25	"
"	"	29	"	35	"
"	"	34	"	40	"
"	"	above 39	"	50	"

Widows are entitled to the following sums, according to the years named above, namely: £10, £12, £15, £16, £18, £20, £24.

The gross receipts for the year 1871 amounted to £17,138 7s.

The Contingent Fund is also maintained by subscriptions in the classes. From this fund grants are made to circuits which would be unable otherwise to support a preacher. The traveling expenses of preachers who are moved long distances; the purchase of furniture for additional preachers' houses; the relief of special cases of affliction, such as protracted sickness, funerals, etc.; the support of supplies for circuits which may become vacant during the year, are all paid from this useful fund. Its receipts during the year 1871 were £25,787. 6s. 2d.

The chief features of diversity between English and American Methodism have now been pointed out. It is right, however, to observe that such diversity does not affect the prosperity of the common cause. Both can point to noble benevolent and educational institutions which they have reared. Both are equally interested in the rising race, and are putting forth strenuous effort to render Sabbath-schools more numerous and effective. Both are equally zealous in propagating the Gospel by domestic and foreign missions. Both are laboring to afford the rising ministry the advantage of instruction in theological seminaries; and by the princely gifts which from time to time are thrown into the treasuries of the Churches by the self-denying devotion which the biographies of each Church commemorates, by the fidelity and spiritual growth of the people who are brought under their influence, and by the constant extension of the boundaries of the spiritual Zion which is per-

ceptible on both sides of the Atlantic, it is evident that the love of Christ is the grand constraining principle in the hearts of each.

There are no human schemes, however carefully devised and conscientiously carried out, which are exempt from imperfection. But the instances are not rare in which what appears to be imperfections are in reality adaptations of providence. So it is with Methodism. Each branch has its own work, and God has conferred on each the implements most suitable for its performance. There is work for the brother with the faultless coat and snowy neckcloth and courteous bearing, who labors in a country where precedent exerts an enormous sway, and where the limits of society are nicely marked and rigidly guarded; and in a country out of whose mighty forests the seats of future empires are being hewed, and on whose boundless prairies the homes of nations are being prepared, there is work for men who, though comparatively careless of conventionalities, are laboring with a stout heart and willing arm. But they have one creed, one object, one Saviour, one eternal home; and by faith they may stretch their arms over the great deep, and grasp each other with the grip of genuine sympathy and affection, for they are brothers in toil, brothers in tribulation, and brothers in triumph.

Art. V.—HUXLEY AND EVOLUTION.

The Direct Evidences of Evolution. Three Lectures in New York, September 18, 20, and 22, 1876. I. The Untenable Hypotheses; II. Circumstantial Evidence of Evolution; III. The Demonstrative Evidence. New York Tribune Extra, No. 36.

For the complete, authentic, and accessible form of the lectures cited above we are indebted to a phase of newspaper enterprise which is purely and creditably American. It is a pleasure to make acknowledgment of the great service rendered to science and literature in America by the cultured editorship of the New York Tribune, which discovers so large resources of "news" in the events and utterances of the world of science and letters.

The lectures themselves were widely heralded; every movement of the distinguished foreigner was made a sensation, and the whole country had been lifted to the tiptoe of expectation. The theme announced was one which had already agitated every thinking circle of two continents. Professor Huxley had long been distinguished as a bold leader in the advocacy of an hypothesis which required a reinterpretation of some passages of Scripture; and a vague expectation had been awakened that some sort of a skirmish between science and theology was impending.

It is fair to record the fact, however, that no conflict with the fundamental principles of religious faith was anticipated by any holding representative positions in science; nor were corresponding representatives of theological learning fearful, to the least extent, that any phase of science so sustained by evidence as to be generally accepted by the scientific, could contravene the accepted fundamentals of religious belief. The popular apprehensions existed, as they have always existed, in the minds of one class who have no adequate knowledge of the nature and force of scientific evidence, and of another class who rather enjoy the spectacle when theology gets a pelting, even if with mere "tufts of grass." Undoubtedly it is the depraved heart which prompts to a large share of the satisfaction felt in such a case; but there seems to be, also, a semi-humorous element in our nature which enjoys, as a mild sensation, any discomposure manifested by theology at being even unjustly accused of jealousy toward science.

It is fair also to record the fact that the three lectures of Professor Huxley do not contain a single expression avowing or intimating an atheistic belief; and all assertions to the effect that "he more than suggested that his aim was atheistic," have no other foundation than the opinion of their authors that the doctrine of evolution means atheism. On the contrary, Professor Huxley has expressed himself in such terms as to clearly indicate that he reserves a place for original creative agency. He says:—

Though we are quite clear about the constancy of nature at the present time, and in the present order of things, it by no means follows necessarily that we are justified in expanding this generalization into the past, and in denying absolutely that there

may have been a time when evidence did not follow a first order, when the relations of cause and effect were not fixed and definite, and when external agencies did not intervene in the general course of nature.

And again:—

My present business is not with the question as to how nature has originated—as to the causes which have led to her origination, but as to the manner and order of her origination. . . . This is strictly an historical question. . . . But the other question, about creation, is a philosophical question, and one which cannot be solved or approached, or touched by the historical method.

The first of the above quotations is not wholly unambiguous. It seems that the lecturer must employ the term "cause" in a physical rather than a metaphysical sense. He directs our attention to a time when the present order of nature had not begun to exist, and the orders of sequence of physical effects had not been ordained. He must have contemplated an adequate efficiency for the inauguration of the present order. In admitting the conception of a different order he at least implies the conception of a power superior to the present order, adequate to begin or end its existence. The second quotation means clearly that the evolution hypothesis may be established, and yet leave every person free to satisfy himself in reference to both the efficient and the final cause of evolution. It means that the theist may posit a Creator at the beginning. It means, we think, more than this. If natural history cannot reveal the nature of causal efficiency at the beginning of the series, it can no more reveal the nature of the efficiency which manifests itself at every term of the series; that is, the hypothesis of evolution authorizes the believer in imminent divine power to posit such power in every term of the evolution. If the lecturer recognized such legitimate inferences from his language, it is greatly to be regretted that he was not more explicit. It would, indeed, have been a departure from strictly scientific method, (in distinction from philosophical,) but it would have been a courtesy appreciated, if not deserved, by the religious public. If, however, a scientist chooses to disguise his opinions on a theological question, it is probably his right to do so. There may be, nevertheless, a degree of reserve amounting to an affectation. But, it is to be hoped, in any

event, that American dissentients from Professor Huxley's scientific or theological positions will afford him no ground to complain of contemptuous criticism and misquotation.*

Before proceeding to the consideration of the "Direct Evidences of Evolution," as presented by Professor Huxley, we desire to enter our dissent from some of his preliminary positions:

1. *The Miltonic conception of the creation is not entirely the biblical one.* Professor Huxley, in his first lecture, has presented us two "hypotheses" concerning the origin of the existing order of nature, which he pronounces "untenable." The first is the theory held by many of the Greek philosophers —though not by the greatest of them, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, nor by the Stoics and Eleatics, nor indeed by Xeniades, Democritus, and Epicurus—that the order of the world is eternal. The lecturer showed, as has been done time and again by others, that the succession of events in the past history of the world, as revealed by geological science, is such as *necessarily implies a commencement*—a beginning of its organic history, and a beginning of its cosmical history. The second "untenable hypothesis" is that of "creation." For the purpose of making known his conception of the "creation hypothesis," he assumes that which is set forth in the epic of John Milton; and, after presenting Milton's graphic though grotesque picture of the origin of animal forms, proceeds to show that it is not scientifically exact. This was no difficult undertaking, since there was probably not an intelligent person in his audience, or in the city of New York, who maintained that Milton's picture is a representation scientifically exact. It is doubtful if the poet himself regarded it as a literal history of events in detail. Milton employed a warm and productive imagination, and it might be affirmed in advance that the poet's pen would produce a picture whose exuberance of metaphor would prove eminently distasteful to cold and rigorous science.

But the lecturer attempted also to show that the Miltonic

* Those who feel curious to know more of Professor Huxley's theology may read the article entitled "School Boards" in "Critiques and Addresses." It will be noticed by the readers of Huxley's writings that he employs the word "theology" to signify a body of ecclesiastical principles and practices, and not the science of God.

oraer of creation is not sustained by paleontology. Well, if the language of Milton means and implies what the lecturer claimed, we must admit that the scientific record diverges. But what was the necessity of setting up poor old John Milton and knocking him down amid the jeers of such an audience? It would have been an equal feat to indict and convict old Bishop Burnet for the showing of his "Sacred Theory of the Earth." We can discover no explanation of this exploit, save the lecturer's belief that the Miltonic conception of creation "is that which has been instilled into every one of us in our childhood, and that it is generally accepted as the most consistent form of the creation theory." He does not pretend that in overthrowing the Miltonic theory the cosmogony of Genesis falls to the ground. He says expressly: "I do not for one moment venture to say that it could properly be called the biblical doctrine," and admits that such assumption would "be met by the authority of many eminent scholars, to say nothing of men of science, who, in recent times, have absolutely denied that this doctrine is to be found in Genesis at all." He does give us clearly to understand, however, that the Miltonic theory is untenable, "whatever the source from which that hypothesis might be derived, or whatever the authority it might be supported by." Just so far, therefore, as exegesis may be able to show that the Miltonic hypothesis, as set forth by Huxley, is a correct interpretation of Genesis, so far the lecturer disputes the biblical record.

Now, though we do not propose to enter upon an exegetical examination, we desire to record a denial that the Miltonic theory, as held up by Huxley, does represent the teaching of Genesis, or the views of well-informed scholars as to that teaching. We need not inquire whether the lecturer correctly sets forth the Miltonic ideas. It is what he sets forth that is so clearly antagonized by the facts of paleontology. We deny that Genesis, in giving us the creation of plants upon the "third day," means "the plants which now live—the trees and shrubs which we now have." * The language refers to that order of existence exemplified familiarly in "grass," and "herb," and "tree." Hence, it is not necessary to infer a second creation

* This subject receives additional elucidation from a table which we hope to embody in a subsequent article.

of modern plants to which the record makes no allusion. We deny, again, that Genesis, in affirming the creation of terrestrial creatures familiarly exemplified in "cattle," "creeping things," and "beasts," has any reference to such an obscure, sparse, and incomplete terrestrial fauna as would be represented by a few snails, scorpions, and insects, breathing the air of Coal Measure times. Clearly, the fauna to which Genesis refers is a complete terrestrial fauna, eminently characterized by mammalia. Can Professor Huxley affirm that paleontology has found any "cattle" fossilized in our coal-beds? Now, a complete terrestrial fauna, such as included "cattle," did not appear until the period which geology has characterized as the "Reign of Mammals." Every geological tyro knows this. It is incorrect, therefore, to affirm that the biblical (or even Miltonic) "sixth day" must be held to begin "in the middle of the Paleozoic formations;" and hence the Bible does not raise a conflict with the facts by placing the advent of the cattle-fauna anterior to the advent of birds. We deny that the Bible declares the creation of "whales" upon the "fifth day," before the advent of birds. It proclaims the creation of *tanninim* (probably Enaliosaurs) and other marine creatures. We deny that the biblical scheme is to find its parallel—where Hugh Miller, Chalmers, Pye Smith, Silliman, *et al.*, sought for it disastrously—in that fraction of terrestrial history which has passed since the beginning of sedimentation. We hold that its reach is co-extensive with the scientific unfolding—from firemist to man. We maintain, finally, that the order of the biblical record is step by step parallel with the geologic; and that the method of origination depicted by Genesis is not at all incompatible with the hypothesis of evolution. We maintain, in fact, that the origination of new forms by descent is only creation by development; and while Professor Huxley's argument is good against the "creation-theory" which he holds up, it is the very foundation of another creation-theory more in accord with the sacred Scriptures.

2. *The evidences in support of the evolution hypothesis are not demonstrative.* We think Professor Huxley has been carried away by enthusiasm in affirming evolution inductively "demonstrated," or in any way demonstrated. The final conclusion is even beyond the reach of inductive evidence. The

data of induction may justify the conclusion that gently graduated series of animals have succeeded each other in past time; but this is no proof of a derivative relationship between them. The only possible inductive evidence of relationship would be examples of actual transition from species to species; but these, according to all observation, are facts of almost unparalleled infrequency, and, at best, are not of such observed frequency as to justify a generalization covering the whole field of life, past and present.

In spite of these exceptions to the breadth of Professor Huxley's claim, we are pretty strongly persuaded that the doctrine of derivative descent of animal and vegetal forms represents the truth. We have not been hasty to reach this conviction. We have pondered many a difficulty, and raised many a query; but we have seen old difficulties vanishing and new proofs perpetually arising. We have learned more of the wonderful resources of the hypothesis in explaining the current and the exceptional phenomena of life and organization.* We now think it is far safer to accept the hypothesis than to reject it. If it is safer for the scientist it is safer for the Christian. It is therefore time for him to seek how to co-ordinate his essential faith with the impending finality of science.

* Professor Huxley himself has undergone a similar change of opinion. In his address before the London Geological Society for 1862 he reviewed the paleontological evidences of progressive modification of types, and concluded with the following inquiry and answer: "What, then, does an impartial survey of the positively ascertained truths of paleontology testify in relation to the common doctrines of progressive modification, which suppose that modification to have taken place by a necessary progress from more to less embryonic forms, or from more to less generalized types, within the limits of the period represented by the fossiliferous rocks? It negatives those doctrines; for it either shows us no evidence of any such modification, or demonstrates it to have been very slight; and, as to the nature of that modification, it yields no evidence whatsoever that the earlier members of any long-continued group were more generalized in structure than the later ones."—*Lay Sermons and Addresses*, pp. 225, 226. In his address before the same society in 1870 he says: "When I come to the propositions touching progressive modification, it appears to me, with the help of the new light which has broken from various quarters, that there is much ground for softening the somewhat Brutus-like severity with which, in 1862, I dealt with a doctrine for the truth of which I should have been glad enough to find a good foundation. . . . When we turn to the higher vertebrata, the results of recent investigations, however we may sift and criticise them, seem to me to leave a clear balance in favor of the doctrine of the evolution of living forms, one from another."—*Critiques and Addresses*, pp. 186, 187.

It is not our purpose in this article to attempt any presentation of the facts which, in our judgment, as in that of the majority of scientific men, afford a strong balance of evidence in support of the doctrine of evolution through a material continuity. We may, however, indicate in a synoptical way the nature of the argument.

There is, first, what may be called the *geological evidence.* The discovered records of extinct life upon the earth, it must be admitted, are extremely defective, and offer many instances not in accord with the requirements of the doctrine, though there are no established facts irreconcilable with it. But there are two truths of prime importance which we must bear in mind: 1. The known record consists of but a few fragments of the actual history of extinct life. This is obvious when we consider how small a portion of the mass of fossiliferous rocks has been explored, and what rich discoveries continue to reward the exertions of geologists to extend their explorations. It is further obvious from the perishable character of organic remains subjected to the vicissitudes which the fossiliferous rocks must have undergone in the progress of the world's changes. 2. We have, in spite of these imperfections, a few instances of pretty complete graduation from type to type—as in the transition from reptiles to birds, and in the transition from the five-toed plantigrade quadruped to the one-toed and digitigrade horse; and in similar transitions to the type of the ox, the hog, the elephant, and the ape. Now, when we consider that it is a fact that every extension of our knowledge of extinct life shows a tendency to fill up the gaps which exist between known types, it seems reasonable to anticipate that if ever the lost record becomes completely restored, we shall be in possession of graduated series of forms leading from the existing highly differentiated types of life, back to some extinct forms; and that these extinct forms, instead of standing isolated, as many of them appear to stand, are similarly connected by gentle gradations, with forms still more ancient.

Next, we have the evidence of *variability of species.* Late researches have shown that it is much greater than had been generally supposed. Indeed, we are now acquainted with hundreds of cases in which forms that had been generally recognized as good species are found to be connected by interme-

diate forms. In fact the transmutations have recently been found to go so far as to constitute a passage *from genus to genus.* Thus, while the strongest geological evidence leaves us still free to deny any derivative relationship between the terms of the completed series of extinct forms, the established variability of animal forms, living and fossil, opens the way to believe that the serial terms revealed by paleontology have been genealogically connected.

Next we have the *embryological evidence.* This seems to us the most convincing of all; for it affords not only a picture of the succession of extinct forms, but it is a picture in which the successive terms are *known* to be derivatively related to each other. Trace any higher vertebrate—man himself, if you will—from a primitive condition in the ovum. How marvelous, how awe-inspiring is the unfolding! We have first the yolk, with its "germinative vesicle" and "germinative dot." Then both undergo a succession of segmentations, until there results a crowded mass of cells, ("morula," or "mulberry" stage.) Some of these dissolve, and the remainder arrange themselves as a hollow spheroid consisting of a single layer of cells ("planula" stage.) The single layer becomes double, with an opening at one pole of the spheroid, ("gastrula" stage;) and now appears a thickening on one side, in the midst of which is disclosed the "primitive furrow," afterward to be inclosed and become the spinal marrow. An enlargement is seen at one extremity; this is the forming brain; and the various segments of the brain appear as gentle swellings. At the opposite extremity is a tail. Transverse marks in the middle of the neural furrow indicate the approaching vertebral structures; while certain segments along the place of the neck are seen to receive blood-vessels from the provisional heart, and to sustain completely all the structural relations of the branchial, or gill arches in the type of fishes. Arms and legs bud out—as yet without digits, or they may be viewed as unidigitate, like the limbs of *Lepidosiren.* Stumpy digits afterward appear, like those of the so-called *Cheirotherium* of Triassic times. The face goes by degrees through the conditions seen in low sharks, amphibious and higher vertebrates. Step by step the internal structures advance toward their destined forms, functions, and positions. Thus, by a process of repeated

differentiations, the complications and special adaptations of the higher vertebrate come into existence.

But what of all this? Very much, indeed. This marvelous evolution which we see the higher vertebrate pass through is *absolutely identical* with the embryonic history of every other animal down to a certain point in its development. Every animal begins in the egg, and the eggs (we exclude shell and other accessories) of all animals are completely undistinguishable in structure. Every animal, except some of the very lowest, presents us, in its development, the morula stage. Every animal, with a few additional exceptions, passes also through the planula stage and the gastrula stage. Thus every vertebrated animal presents us the same primitive furrow, the same cerebral enlargements, the same segmentation, the same caudal continuation, the same vascular area, the same one-chambered heart, the same branchial arches and blood-vessels, the same progressive changes in the development of the brain, the same mode of formation of the enteric and abdominal cavities, the same beginnings of the formation of the face. This identity in embryonic histories may be unexpected; it may be amazing; it may be humiliating; but there is nothing better established in science.

This is not all. There are living creatures which represent these successive stages of embryonic development. There are some so low that they never pass beyond the structure of the egg—simple cells, often, like some eggs, capable of movement by means of prolongations of their substance. There are some which attain to the morula condition, and then are adult. Others pass to the planula stage, and still others, to the gastrula. Certain worms (*Turbellaria*) represent a succeeding stage, as the Ascidians are believed to picture a still later one. Thus on, from *Amphioxus* and the lampreys to the sharks, Amphibians, Monotremes, Marsupials, and Lemurs, at the bottom of the order of four-handed animals, we discover living forms which stand forth in the museum of Nature as pictures of the embryonic stages of the highest vertebrate.

Finally, the embryonic series finds its parallel not only in the embryonic history of other animals, and in the adult forms of animals presented as we range up and down the scale of life, but the succession of extinct types, as far as we have read it, presents us with another parallel.

Now, while we *know* the stages of the embryonic series to stand derivatively related, it seems reasonable to infer that the corresponding forms in the realms of actual and extinct life are also derivatively related. It would appear, at first view, that the nature of the derivation is fundamentally different in the two cases; but even this does not impair the meaning of the fact that, in both cases, we have *a material continuity from form to form;* and this is all which evolution requires. On reflection, however, the mode of the continuity in the case of the embryo appears substantially identical with the assumed mode of continuity in the succession of geological types. Ordinary embryonic development proceeds through the multiplication and specialization of cells stimulated by the nutritive plasma in which they are bathed. Generative development begins in the multiplication and specialization of a cell stimulated by contact with a cell specialized spermatically in the same individual, or in an individual sexually different. Propagation, moreover, may be viewed as simply a mode of perpetuating or renewing an individual which is bisexual, either monœciously, as in lower animals and most plants, or diœciously, as in most animals and certain plants. The progress noted in the succession of extinct forms is assumed to have resulted from some influence exerted upon embryos in the progress of their development. The development accelerated or prolonged, would end in an organism more advanced. This would be a new specific form appearing as a stage of embryonic history; and though many generations may have intervened while the embryo was arriving at this new specific type, we may view these generations as simply nature's expedient to continue the being in existence, in spite of the wastes of physical life. So what seems, at first, a mere analogy, resolves itself into a profound biological identity.

The presentation of the facts which sustain the argument thus outlined must be waived for the present. But the question of evolution cannot be dismissed by the philosopher and the theologian even when it shall have been proved: 1. That geological history presents us universally, series of nicely graduated forms; and, 2. That these forms are all genetically related to each other, and that, consequently, all living forms are genetically connected.

Supposing both these positions well established, we have only reached the determination of a certain order of succession, and a certain derivative relation. We have not yet discovered the agencies through which the derivation is effected, and the conditions under which those agencies are operative. Nor have we discovered the efficiency which operates the agencies, and the mode of its activity; nor the reason why all these things are brought to pass as they are. In brief, after we have discovered *what* takes place, it remains to learn *through* what it takes place, and *by* what it takes place, and *for* what it takes place. These are the ulterior questions which were not touched by Professor Huxley in his lectures. He did not ignore them, but he waived them.*

We shall do no more than bring these remaining questions into view, in order that the reader may have a proper apprehension of the breadth of the theme.

I. What are the Physical and Physiological Conditions (approximate causes) of Variative Derivation?

It is in the domain covered by this question that the various theories of derivation have sprung up. At the outset, a fundamental discrimination must be made. There are the organic activities appropriating material within reach, and building the organism according to a certain pattern; and there are the external conditions in the presence of which these activities are carried on. Whatever influence the environment may exert, it can obviously be no more than a conditioning influence, since whatever is done with the organic structure, is done in the organism and through physiological processes. Now, whatever may be the nature of the forces acting within, it is conceivable that they may be conditioned or determined in their activity by the quality and quantity of food, water, air, and rest. These belong to the environment. Variations in the supply of these requisites depend on two classes of influences. These are the *natural* influences, arising from daily,

* He says: "The cause of that production of variations is a matter not at all properly understood at present. Whether it depends upon some intricate machinery—if I may use the phrase—of the animal form itself, or whether it arise through the influence of conditions upon that form, is not certain, and the question may, for the present, be left open.—Page 23, "Tribune" ed. "My present business is not with the question as to *how* nature has originated, as to causes which *have led* to her origination."—Page 19.

seasonal, periodical, and secular changes in the supplies, and from the movements and migrations of the animal. These variable factors have been taken into the account by the older transmutationists, Lamark and St. Hilaire, and by the later Darwinists. Then there are the *artificial* influences (as we may style them) arising from the contests of individuals for the possession of the requisites of life. This is the "struggle for existence," which constitutes the peculiar feature of Darwinian derivative doctrine. The effect of this struggle is always the survival of the fittest, and a consequent tendency to improvement. It is thus that the environment may condition the organic activities of animals that have come into the world, and entered upon the struggle for self-support. But the most impressible period of life is the embryonic. To what an extent must requisite supplies during ovarian and uterine existence condition the physiological activities which are making the being what it is to be. It is certainly quite conceivable that favorable conditions should so accelerate embryonic development that higher results should be reached at full term, or that unfavorable conditions should so retard development that lower results should be reached. This idea is the peculiar feature of the derivative theory of Cope and Hyatt. It seems really to have struck upon a more fundamental and productive cause of derivative variation than the struggle for existence. It accounts for regress as well as progress. It addresses itself to the tissue-making forces at the time when the foundations of the tissues are being laid, and not when the organic structure has been already cast in its mold.

But now, independently of all external conditions, it is conceivable that the organism may be the subject of an inherent and unremitting nisus—a tendency, in spite of obstacles, to accomplish certain results, and attain to fitter conditions. It is our own conviction that here lies the secret force which works out the multifarious phenomena of organic life. Such a nisus was appealed to by Lamark; and Professor Huxley has more than once hinted the probability that it is a potent factor in vital phenomena.

II. What are the Efficient Causes of Variative Derivation?

Plainly it may become shown that the mode of activity of the organism, either conditioned or unconditioned by the

environment, is the means through which the vital phenomena of the world are brought to pass, and we may still be ignorant of the efficient cause of that activity. Now, even though an indwelling and persistent nisus should appear to be the principal impulse to activity, we have to seek after the source of the impulse. Does it originate in the tissue in which it acts? Is it a product of the tissue? These are the bottom questions, the solution of which possesses the highest interest for theology. We do not propose to enter here into any argument; but for our part, it seems perfectly clear that the efficient cause of physiological changes is objective to the organism in which they are revealed. Our conclusion is grounded, first, on our necessary conception of efficient cause; secondly, on the discernment reflected in the mode of activity of physiological causes. Efficient—that is, primitive, original, real—cpusation is the direction of adequate efficiency, through appropriate instrumentalities (if needed) toward a preconceived and desiderated result. If any supposed cause acts in any other way, then it is itself an effect, and the real cause remains to be sought. If physiological force does not thus act, then, in tracing results to such force, we have not found their cause. Such may be the "causes" with which science deals, but they are not reason's causes. In this case, we have to seek for the volition and preconception and motive back of physiological force. But if physiological force does thus act, then volition and preconception and motive are revealed in every vital change. Thus we argue, even when force acts without adaptiveness. But vital forces act *with reference* to external conditions, and *with reference* to ideal concepts. Here is double proof, then, of intellectual discernments. Whatever results, therefore, are produced by the slow, perpetual activities of physiological forces, conditioned, to whatever extent, by the environment, are the results of an ever-present, discerning efficiency; and the more we see the organism molded to the environment, the more clearly we see reflected the intellectual element of that efficiency. If the existing world is the genealogical result of primitive conditions, then the efficiency which the cycles of the past have witnessed, in the transformation of successive terms, has been enlightened by intelligence, directed by choice and impelled by will. We cast our glances back over

the awful chasm of the cosmic æons, and contemplate it as the theater of the display of an infinity of miracles, revealed in an unbroken, sustained, adaptive, and all-embracing system of evolution.

III. What is the Final Cause of Variative Derivation?

We are properly reminded by the nescientists that we must not presume to know fully the motives which actuate an infinite will. At the same time we feel fully persuaded that no intelligence acts without some motive—not even an infinite intelligence; for motive stands correlated to intelligence as such, and not to the greatness of intelligence. We feel it, therefore, perfectly legitimate to inquire after the motives which have controlled divine activity in the ordering of the world. We shall not, however, elaborate the inquiry here. The natural reason can never divest itself of the conviction that complicated and slowly maturing results, which respond to the wants of sensitive beings, were designed so to respond. Among the wants of intelligent beings are appropriate *stimuli* to mental activity, and appropriate rewards for mental effort. One of the highest and noblest *stimuli* to mental activity is the hope of attaining to the higher laws or modes of change and succession in the natural world. The law of evolution discloses itself as the highest generalization of the phenomena of the cosmos. If we discover that this law involves not only an ideal, but a physical, continuity, we seem to have attained, in cosmical dynamics, to that unity which has been the aspiration of all science and all philosophy. This, then, is the highest possible disclosure of the Supreme Intelligence which nature can yield; and we shall expose ourselves to no just charge of credulity, in thinking such a revelation of the Supreme Mind to be one of the final causes of the all-embracing scheme of evolution by continuity.

The world and its parts may be compared to a stately dwelling; and the scientist who investigates its constitution and the mode of its origin, is like a visitor from some realm where houses are not built. This intelligent visitor studies inquiringly every accessible part. He catalogues the parts, as the naturalist catalogues the members of the animal kingdom. He discovers a unity in the conception of the edifice, and says that its style is "gothic;" as the zoölogist says the style of a large

portion of the animal kingdom is "vertebrate." But our stranger has never seen an edifice in process of construction, and he conjectures the method in accordance with which its features might have been originated and combined. Evidently, he says to himself, one method would be the full completion of each portion of the building before beginning another portion, as a mud-wasp builds its cell. At length, however, he discovers an edifice in process of erection; as the biologist studies the building up of an animal from the egg. An excavation is first made for the foundations; this is the "primitive furrow." The basement walls are raised around it; the sills and the floor-timbers are laid; these are the "protovertebræ." Next the side-walls are raised and the roof is closed in. Thus the most general features of the structure first appear. The places of partitions and stair-ways are indicated by rough timbers, and the plan of the house is outlined. As the work proceeds the rough timbers are covered with flooring and lath; then the walls receive coats of brown mortar, and, lastly, a white finish. Still remain the casings and moldings, and paint and varnish. Now the house is complete, and our gratified stranger concludes that the stately edifice, the cathedral, the town hall, were all constructed according to a method of "evolution." He has discovered the method, the order of succession of the parts. Now he knows that all buildings are constructed according to a law of evolution; as the biologist has learned in reference to animals, and the cosmologist in reference to worlds. But our stranger could not for a moment imagine that the method or law of construction did the work of construction, nor can the biologist hold that the law of evolution accounts for the existence of the animal. The work in the edifice has been done by mechanics, with the use of tools and machinery. These are the physiological activities which build up the tissues and members of the animal. These mechanics act under the bidding of another will, and, in this relation, they are only a part of the mechanism which performs the work. Their hands are not the prime cause of the building—they are not the real cause. The building would never exist if there were not a prime mover in the will of the proprietor. That will is the cause of the edifice. But this will has not ordered this structure without motive. Whatever the

motive—for residence, for display, for a monument, for some caprice, or for some motive undisclosed—there has been a *why* of his determination.

Thus, in the contemplation of the universe, it is the part of science to catalogue the phenomena and learn their mode and order of occurrence, and the physical agencies concerned in their production. But there are profounder inquiries propounded by reason, and deeper longings felt by the soul. After science has accomplished her last work in her especial domain, reason draws aside the vail which obstructs the vision of science, and discovers the Supreme Efficiency working in all things, and working out the welfare of sentient beings; and the soul arises and adores the God whose presence it before had felt, but now rationally cognizes.

Art. VI.—THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE OF THE CHINESE.

The famous classical writings of the Chinese comprise nine works, treating of subjects kindred in their nature, and affording to the student of all ages a study of the deepest interest. Their authors and subjects will be briefly noticed before we proceed to speak of them collectively, our object being more particularly to show the unbounded and molding influences for good that these wonderful monuments of antiquity have exerted upon the Chinese race. To treat of the classics separately would necessitate the writing of nine volumes, so vast are the fields of thought traversed by each of them, so interesting the subject-matter, and so momentous and critical were the events and the times that conspired to produce these remarkable specimens of literature. To these classical writings this immense empire owes her existence and her present degree of civilization; and to them her millions have looked during numberless ages for guidance in their political policy and for instruction in their daily lives.

As will be seen from the brief digest of subject-matters below given, six of the classics are attributed to the sage Confucius, (552-479 B. C.) Although he did not, in reality, write the whole

of these six works, yet those which were originally written by others were so completely altered, remodeled, and rewritten, that Confucius is most justly regarded by the Chinese as the common author of the entire six. Furthermore, the subjects treated of by these original authors took such a tinge in passing through the mind of Confucius that they were no more the work of others; and it is by virtue of their Confucian character alone that these writings have become immortalized. The three remaining classics were written by Tseng Sin, Kung Kich, and Mencius, the most renowned among the disciples of Confucius.

These four sages, then, are the philosophers of China, the authors of the nine Classics, and upon their lips have hung, for twenty-four hundred years, the billions of this empire. Contemporaneous, in sacred Scripture, with Ezra; in history, with Cyrus; in the oratorical world, with Demosthenes; and in the philosophical, with Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus; we are constrained to wonder at the perfection and the original and practical character of the productions of the four philosophers, whose land it pleased God to place so remote from "the cradle of civilization." The nine Classics are named as follows: 1. The Book of Changes; 2. The Book of History; 3. The Book of Odes; 4. The Book of Rites; 5. The Spring and Autumn Annals; 6. The Great Study; 7. The True Medium; 8. The Confucian Analects; 9. Mencius.

The Book of Changes was composed in prison by Wen Wang about 1150 B. C., and is one of the most ancient books extant. It treats of general philosophy, and the First Cause as taught by Fuhhi. His institutes were founded upon the eight diagrams from which has been deduced a system of ethics. The work was completely rewritten by Confucius about 500 B. C.

The Book of History presents us with a history of China between the dates 2350 and 770 B. C. The internal evidence establishes the conclusion that Confucius acted as editor of documents existing in his day; but the precise alterations that these ancient writings underwent in his hands cannot now be ascertained.

The Book of Odes is one of the most ancient collections of odes extant. There is nothing of an epic character in the work, nor even any lengthened narrative. The book contains

about three hundred odes, and the internal evidence clearly assigns their composition to the period included between the dates 1765 and 585 B. C. The several authors of these poetic effusions are unknown. The work was compiled by Confucius, who, finding the odes current among his countrymen, embellished and versified them. Their prosody is unique. Most of them are composed in lines consisting of four syllables, each syllable being a word, as Chinese is a monosyllabic language. Although this is the regular meter, yet poetical license permits frequent departure therefrom; and we find lines numbering from one to eight syllables, but no more. The quatrain is the favorite verse; but we also find stanzas consisting of from two to seventeen lines each. The rhyme is peculiar and varied. Thus we have stanzas of from two to twelve lines rhyming in succession; stanzas of from four to twelve lines rhyming alternately; stanzas of entirely irregular rhyme; and also a few in blank verse. These departures from the quatrain, however, only enhance the beauty of the poetry, which would otherwise become somewhat tedious. The odes were sung in China as the compositions of the earliest European poets were sung in ancient Greece. Their style is simple and their subjects various; and they represent, in the purest manner, the habits of thought of the ancient Chinese.

The Book of Rites was written by an ancient prince, named Chou, who drew his materials directly from the lips of Confucius, thus acting, in reality, as the amanuensis of the sage. The work gives directions for all actions of life, referring not only to the external conduct, but being interspersed with excellent observations regarding mutual forbearance and kindness in society, which are regarded as the true principles of etiquette.

The Spring and Autumn Annals is an historical work written by Confucius himself, and is so named because "its commendations are life-giving, like spring, and its censures life-withering, like autumn." It contains a congeries of historical incidents extending from 802 to 560 B. C.

The Great Study was written during the fifth century B. C. by Tseng Sin, one of the most eminent of the disciples of Confucius. It is a genuine monument of the Confucian school, and its author faithfully reflects the teachings of his master. The argument of the work is briefly summed up in four heads:

The improvement of one's self; the regulation of a family; the government of a State; and the rule of an empire.

The True Medium was composed by Kung Kich, the grandson of Confucius, and its date is about 390 B. C. The work has a noble, independent character, and is well worthy of being treasured in the library of the world's classics. Its plan is to illustrate the nature of human virtue, and to exhibit its conduct in the actions of an "ideal man of immaculate propriety," who always demeans himself correctly, in which alone consists true virtue.

The Confucian Analects consist of dialogues held between Confucius and his disciples, and were compiled by the sage himself. The date of the work has been fixed at about the beginning of the fifth century B. C. Its aim is to exhibit the duties of political government as those of the perfecting of one's self, and of the practice of virtue by all men.

Mencius consists entirely of the conversations held between the sage Mencius and the princes and grandees of his time. It was written by Mencius himself, and its date is about 330 B. C. The object of the work is to tranquilize the empire, to rectify men's hearts, and direct their minds to heaven.

Such, in brief, are the subject-matters of the classics. A careful perusal will show that the nine works are imbued with the same spirit for the amelioration of man. The subjects and aim being thus collateral, it will be as unnecessary as impossible for us to enter upon the fields presented by each of the works, for they are too vast for treatment in a review. It is proposed, therefore, merely to take a general survey of the classics, and to show in what a wonderful degree these writings have benefited a third part of the earth's population. The unbounded admiration felt for the classics and their remarkable authors has caused these writings to become still more famous from the unequaled influence they have exerted in the formation of the Chinese character. They are held in great veneration for their antiquity and their excellent philosophy. Scholars commit them to memory, and writers quote largely from this inexhaustible source; for the arguments, illustrations, and sentiments are all but unexcelled.

These remarkable bequests of antiquity have not only had the most practical effect upon the manners and life of the Chi-

nese, but they have furnished them with a model of government to which they have scrupulously adhered for more than two thousand years. The six Central Boards in Pekin, as well as the system of Government throughout the empire, are founded upon and modeled after the plans enjoined in the Classics. The religion of State is founded upon them, and the people are instructed from their earliest childhood in all the details they contain respecting conduct toward the aged, their rulers, and their parents. A critical examination of the works will discover the molding principles which operate on Chinese youth from earliest years. Nor is it difficult to account for the wonderful influence which the Classics have had upon the Chinese character. Those who are most aware of the excellences of the precepts and the incomparableness of the dogmas are those who have had experience in the tortuous dealings of the human heart, and have the power to enforce obedience upon their juniors. By the time these latter are qualified to take their place in the upper rank of the social system, habit leads them to exercise their sway over the rising generation in the same manner, and thus it is that the teachings of the Classics have been perpetuated.

The works are replete with the practical observations which distinguish the writings of the sages, and their principal object in writing them was to compare the misgovernment and anarchy which characterized their own times with the excellent and peaceful reigns of the ancient monarchs, and thereby to enforce those principles of good government on which they consider the welfare of the State to depend. The writings are interspersed with examples of ancient imperial ordinances, mandates addressed to the high ministers of State, plans and instructions prepared by statesmen for the guidance of their sovereign and the princes, imperial proclamations admonishing the people, and vows taken before God by the monarchs when going out to battle. The principles of administration laid down are founded on a regard for the welfare of the people, and would, if carried out in their perfection, insure universal prosperity. "If the exemplary ruler would teach and govern his people, let him employ eulogism and authority. Let him rather not execute the laws against criminals than punish an innocent person. Let him render his children virtuous, and

preserve them from whatever can injure life and health. A virtue that delights in preserving the lives of the subjects gains the hearts of the people."

The seeds of all things that are valuable in the estimation of the Chinese are found in the Classics. They form the basis of their political system, their history, and their religious rites; and from them are evolved the principles of their "tactics, music, and astronomy." Here we have expressions drawn either from the recesses of feeling or descriptive of the state of public affairs, unexpected metaphors and illustrations, exemplary precepts of government, and clear intimations of the knowledge of the one true God; which, together with the acknowledged antiquity of the works, encircle them with a lasting interest. Upon a careful perusal of these ancient writings, one cannot but be convinced that these Chinese moralists, though destitute of any adequate knowledge of the one true God, began at the right place in their endeavors to reform their countrymen, and that they did not fully succeed was owing to causes beyond their reforming power. They displayed remarkable originality of thought, inflexibility of purpose, and extensiveness of views, and are among the greatest men Asia has ever produced. Their writings not only prove them to have been masterly dialecticians, but show the shrewd insight they had of the character of their countrymen when they began as reformers and teachers by reviving the instructions of the ancients, and then gradually merging these into their *own* views. Had they acted otherwise, their moral teachings would have been lost entirely. Their writings abound in irony and ridicule directed against vice and oppression; and, clothed in their *reductio ad absurdum* garb, they sweep every thing before them.

The characters of the four sages present remarkable exceptions in the Asiatic world, and they were ready to sacrifice every thing to their principles. "I love life," says Mencius, "and I love justice; but, if I cannot preserve both, I would give up life and hold fast justice." Again: "Although I love life, there is that which I love more than life—goodness; although I hate death, there is that which I hate more than death—wickedness." In native vigor and carelessness of the reproaches of their compatriots, they closely resembled the more eminent disciples of our Lord. These philosophers divided

mankind into three classes: Those who are good *without* instruction, those who are good *after* instruction, and those who are bad *in spite of* instruction. Their estimate of human nature is high, they believing that it was originally good, and that "all men have compassionate hearts—all feel ashamed of vice." They exhibited the nature of human virtue in the conduct of an ideal man, who, having arrived at self-completion, conducts to the completion of other men and things. "He descends to nothing low or improper. In a high station, he feels no contempt for his inferiors; in a humble situation, he fawns not upon his superiors. He corrects himself and blames not others. He satisfies completely all the requirements of duty in the various relations of society and government. He murmurs against neither heaven nor man. Hence, he dwells at ease, entirely awaiting the will of God." This is their standard of excellence; but, alas! unattainable by human strength *alone.*

Among the leading features of their philosophy are subordination to superiors and upright dealing with our fellow-men. Political morality must be founded on private rectitude. Filial duty, reverence for the ancient books and rulers, and adherence to old usages, are duties of prime importance. Their philosophy recognizes uprightness as the basis of all things, and harmony as the all-pervading principle of the universe. When there are no movements of the passions, this is equilibrium or uprightness; when the passions have been moved and they all act in due degree, this is harmony. When uprightness and harmony have been extended to the utmost, the universe will be at rest; and when they exist in perfection, there will result sincerity. Sincerity is *absolute* when *intelligence* results from *it*, and *acquired* when *it* results from *intelligence.* Sincerity conducts to self-completion, and possesses all the qualities which can be predicated of heaven and earth.

Man has received his nature from heaven; and, the nature being moral, conduct in accordance therewith constitutes what is right and true. By virtue of this moral nature, man becomes constituted a law to himself; over it he requires to exercise a jealous watchfulness; and, as he possesses it, he becomes invested with the highest dignity and power. A strict accordance therewith is called the *path*, and the regulation of the path is called *instruction.* The path of duty is to be pursued

every-where and at all times, while yet the secret spring is in the Heaven-conferred nature. "The path is not far from man. If man tries to pursue a path that is far from him it cannot be *the path.* When man cultivates to the utmost the moral principles of his nature and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is in the path. Do to others nothing that you would not have them do to you."

Man is *by nature good.* If the heart be once rectified, little else will remain to be done; and then it is that we recognize the *goodness* of the nature. Man is born for uprightness; and, since the nature of man is good, there are in him the natural principles of righteousness, benevolence, propriety, and apprehension of moral truth. The several passions and affections, which are distinct both from benevolence and self-love, in general contribute and lead us to public good as really as to private. There is, furthermore, a principle of reflection in man, by which he distinguishes between, approves and disapproves, his own actions. Man follows his nature to a certain degree, but not entirely; his actions do not come up to the whole of what his nature leads him to; and he often violates his nature. There is no part of himself which a man does not love; and as he loves all, so he must nourish all. In order to determine whether his manner of nourishing be good, let him decide *by reflection where* it should be applied.

The immense love of the philosophers for humanity dominated over all their other sentiments, and has made of their philosophy a system of social perfectionating which has never been equaled. It sets forth the higher and more extensive principles of moral science which come into use in the conduct of government. Its object is "to illustrate illustrious virtue, to love the people, and to rest in the highest excellence." The method reaches from the cultivation of the person to the tranquilization of the empire; and the intermediate series involves the investigation of things, the completion of knowledge, the sincerity of the thoughts, the rectifying of the heart, the cultivation of the person, the regulation of the family, and the government of the State, culminating in the empire tranquilized.

The object of government is to make its subjects good and happy. Rulers should love the people, governing only for the

good of those over whom they are exalted by Heaven. They have no divine right but what springs from the discharge of their duty. The insisting on personal excellence in all who have authority in the family, the State, and the empire, is a great moral and social principle. This excellence must be rooted in the state of the heart, and be the natural outgrowth of sincerity. "As a man thinks in his heart so is he."

In the administration of government the ruler is exhorted to cultivate his own character, to honor men of virtue and talent, to love his relatives, to respect the great ministers, to treat the whole body of officials in a kind and considerate manner, to cherish the mass of the people as children, to encourage all classes of artisans, to show indulgence toward men from a distance, and to affectionately cherish the princes of the empire. Hence are evolved five duties of universal application: Those between sovereign and minister, husband and wife, father and son, elder and younger brother, and friends. These are carried into effect by the three virtues—knowledge, benevolence, and energy; and the one thing by which these virtues are practiced is sincerity, which is benevolence by which a man's self is perfected, and knowledge by which he perfects others.

Filial duty figures prominently in the administration of government, and holds the highest place in the list of virtues and obligations. It is the root of virtue and the stem from which instruction in moral principles springs forth. Its observance is inculcated upon children from their earliest years, and hardly can a blacker crime be conceived of than disobedience to parents. Filial duty commences in attention to parents, is continued through a series of services rendered the State, and is completed in the reflection of glory upon our ancestors by the honorable elevation of ourselves. "When ministers disregard the monarch, then there is no supremacy; when the maxims of the sages are set aside, then the law is abrogated; and so they who disregard filial duty are as though they had no parents. These three evils prepare the way for universal rebellion."

The will of the people is the supreme power in the State, and the relation between ruler and people is clearly referred to the will of God. Heaven having produced the people, appointed for them rulers and teachers, in order that they should

be assisting to God. Heaven gives the empire, but Heaven does not speak. It therefore evinces its will only by man's personal conduct and his conduct of affairs; therefore Heaven sees and hears according as the people see and hear. These principles, as exemplified in the classics, are indisputable; but their application must be attended with difficulty. The sentiments, however, have operated powerfully to compel the good behavior of the rulers of the empire for more than two thousand years, and the government of China would, were it not for them, have been a grinding despotism. The people are feared by their rulers on account of the great popularity and justice of these expressions, for in them it is claimed that the people are ready and anxious to be governed by a good ruler. "If the ruler be righteous the people will flock to him, and, though he wished to abdicate, he could not."

The two chief elements of benevolent rule are that the people be made well off, and that they be educated. When the people have been made numerous through righteous government, then enrich them; and when they have been enriched, then teach them. Upright rulers will secure peaceful administrations, by which the first step is attained; admirable regulations for agriculture and commerce are then proposed, by the faithful carrying out of which the second step is attained, and with this attained the people are fitted to profitably devote themselves to learning, which they could not do were their lives embittered by miserable poverty. And as these ancient philosophers proceed in their discussion of these two elements, and gradually develop the principles involved, we are astonished to find that their minds comprehend, especially in the latter one, what was not advocated by minds of our own prided civilizations until twenty-four centuries later.

The classics abundantly confirm the conclusion that the ancient Chinese had a knowledge of God, who frequently appears in them as "The Ruler of the Universe," "The Supreme Ruler," "The Great and Sovereign God," and "The Bright and Glorious God." He appears especially as the Ruler of men, giving them all things that they can desire. In producing the multitudes of the people he gives to them a good nature: but few of them are able to keep it so. He is perfectly just, and will of himself injure no one. He combines

omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence. He watches particularly over the conduct of rulers, while they reverence Him and administer their high duties in his fear, and with reference to his will, taking his ways as their pattern. He maintains them, smells the sweet savor of their offerings, and blesses them and their people with abundance and general prosperity. When they become impious and negligent he punishes them, takes from them the throne, and appoints others in their place. Sometimes he appears to array himself in terrors, and the course of his providence is altered. The evil in the State is ascribed to him. He is called unpitying. But this is his strange work, in judgment, and to call men to repentance. He hates no one, and it is not he who really causes the evil time; that is a consequence of forsaking the old and right ways of government. Sacrifices were offered to God by the sovereigns in praise, supplication, and thanksgiving. They were preceded by fasting and various purifications. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, and the victims correspond to what we find were offered to God in the Bible times.

While the ancient Chinese thus believed in God, and thus conceived of him, they believed in other spirits under him. These frequently made their appearance on earth, and some of them were good and some evil.

A belief in the immortality of the soul has been a characteristic of the Chinese from their first appearance in history. Many persons, who had led holy lives, are represented as being "on high, bright in heaven, ascending and descending on the right and left of God." Though the Chinese have always believed in a future state, yet it is portrayed as a future for the better, for these ancients appear to have shrunk from the contemplation of an eternity of woe. They believed, however, that in the future the felicity of souls would depend upon their probationary lives; those who had led the holier lives being nearer the throne of God, while the evil-doers would be further from the throne, and enjoy a felicity diminishing in proportion to the wickedness of their lives.

As moralists, the writers of the classics stand almost unequaled. In their view of human nature, there is nothing contrary to the teachings of our Christian Scriptures. It does

not cover what we know to be the whole duty of man, yet it is defective rather than erroneous. They had no means of obtaining an adequate knowledge of God or of the fall of man; nevertheless God is always spoken of as the Supreme Ruler of the universe, through whom all things have been, are, and will be, and in whom are involved the divine personality and supremacy. They were without the light which revelation sheds on the whole field of human duty, and the sanctions which it discloses of a future state of retribution. They, therefore, indicate no ardent wish to penetrate futurity and ascertain what comes after death.

Compared with the precepts of Greek and Roman sages, the general tendency of these writings is good; while in their general adaptation to the race and the society of the Orient of their times, they exceed even those of western philosophers. Instead of dealing exclusively in sublime and unattainable descriptions of virtue, these sages taught rather how the common intercourse of life was to be maintained, and in this respect their writings are distinguished from those of all philosophers in other countries. The classics have, furthermore, exerted such an incomparable influence over so many billions of minds, that the works of Greek and Roman genius appear *merely* as monuments of literature, while these writings of China's sages are invested with an interest which no book but the Bible can claim. One of their most remarkable features is their entire freedom from any description or language that can debase or vitiate the heart. The classics of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans teem with glowing narrations of amours and obscenities; and the purity of the Chinese classics in this respect is most remarkable. Their moral tone is unexcelled, and there is nothing in them that will not bear the most scrupulous perusal.

The period that gave birth to the classics was one of great turmoil—one of social and political demoralization. Wars were rife between the several States into which the empire had become divided, and degeneracy and disintegration pervaded all of them. The sages, therefore, wrote their works because "the world was fallen into decay, and right principles had dwindled away." They directed their maledictions particularly against vice among the rulers of the people who thus

came to fear the books on account of their popularity, and were consequently compelled to administer their rule in a far less tyrannical manner than they otherwise would have done. The morals of the empire were, at this time, in a deplorable condition. The teachings of a system of philosophy resembling, yet worse than, the epicurean had been commenced by the philosopher, Yang Chu, the substance of whose writings was: "Let us eat and drink; let us live in pleasure; gratify the senses; get servants and maidens, music, beauty, and wine. When the day is insufficient, carry it on through the night. For the being ends at death."

This system of philosophy had gained a footing, and was rapidly hurling the empire to destruction. Rulers and people grasped eagerly after its seductive teachings; and, in the course of a few years, China witnessed some of the most licentious times that have marked a nation's history. Then fell emperors; then came wars from within and without, and pestilence. The land was drenched in blood, and the empire was divided into innumerable States, carrying on an endless warfare with one another, when suddenly there glimmered through the dreadful darkness of those times the teachings of the classics. Their immortalized philosophers traveled over the country doing good among the people; rebuking the warring princes; exhorting to virtue and a unity of the empire; to purity in private and public life; yet always preserved from the wrath of princes by the reverence for them that was rapidly taking hold of the people. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and fidelity were inculcated. A bulwark of human nature formed for virtue was raised up. The current was stayed. The empire became united. Ameliorating influences pervaded society; and the philosophers of the classics did all that men, without an adequate knowledge of God, could have done to improve their fellows. The people were directed into the paths of truth and duty, and the empire was passed on for twenty-four hundred years further; and here she stands, wrapped in reverence at the feet of those philosophers to whom she owes her greatness and her existence, and lost in admiration at the tones of those voices that have come down through twenty-four centuries.

The classics are as remarkable for their beautiful solemnity

and lordly composition as they are for their intrinsic worth as moral guides. The great sages and philosophers have here condensed the grandest utterances of their wisdom, and the severest lessons of their virtue. The pathos of some portions of the works will draw floods of tears, the agony depicted in other portions will cause the reader to tremble in terror; while the calm, gentle flow of still other portions will bear him into a peaceful sea of oblivion, where he remains entranced until the waves of recollection wash him back upon the shores of reality. Lessons of virtue and morality are blended with exhortations to rulers and people to clothe themselves in humility, to search diligently after learning, and to repose in the pure excellence of virtue. "Grieve not that men know you not, but rather be grieved that you are ignorant of men." "Learning without reflection will profit nothing; reflection without learning will leave the mind uneasy and miserable." "Without virtue, both riches and honor are like the passing cloud. No man esteems virtue as he esteems pleasure." "The perfect man is never satisfied with himself; he that is satisfied with himself is not perfect." "Sin in a virtuous man is like an eclipse; all men gaze at it and it passes away. He mends, and the world stands in admiration of his fall."

The good that has been wrought by these writings is almost incredible; and when we consider that they were in those ancient times intrusted to silk and tablets of wood, bamboo and stone, and that they were so miraculously preserved from destruction during the long reign of the infuriated emperor, Chin Shih Huang, who issued the proclamation for the burning of the books and the destruction of the *literati* in 212 B. C., we are constrained to believe that a designing Providence alone permitted them to be transmitted to posterity unimpaired. They have been cherished by the emperors, the national historiographers, and the imperial music masters. They have promoted the cause of good government and virtue; they give us faithful pictures of the politics of the country and the social habits of the people, and, above all, they have exerted a wondrous influence for good throughout the masses of the empire. At their antiquity we gaze in astonishment, and their primitive beauty binds us fast in admiration. They echo through myriad ages the customs, lives, trials, joys, and fortunes of the

most ancient nation in existence in its integrity, and cast rays of light upon centuries when the world was slumbering. But is there no dark side to this picture? Has the government of China been perfect during the past two thousand years, or have her masses been renowned for their virtuous manners? Has her civilization not remained almost stationary for twenty-four centuries? Has she not been lashed by intestine wars? Have no foreign hordes swept through the land? Have no dynasties risen and fallen in seas of blood? Has the history of any nation been so crowded with battles, sieges, and massacres as China's? Alas, that we cannot answer these questions as we could wish! And why? The philosophers of the classics were without the divine writ. They had no means of obtaining an adequate knowledge of the living God. The Redeemer had not yet sacrificed himself for lost humanity, and their minds were not enlightened by the splendor of the revelation.

The authors of the Old Testament were possessed of a living knowledge of the Supreme Being; the authors of the New Testament were flooded with the light of revelation. The Almighty, in his infinite mercy, has cast our lot among Christian nations. Are the governments of those nations perfect? Have their millions attained to the pure excellence of virtue? Have sanguinary wars, in which very brothers have gloated in each other's kindred blood, been wanting? What then? Do we assume that man is no better off for having received the will of God? or do we venture to compare that precious writ with the writings of the sages? The Bible reflects the mind of God. In it we trace his grandeur and his simplicity, his exaltedness and his condescension. In his wondrous love for fallen man the Almighty has here revealed his will. He has sacrificed his only Son, and, having placed before us the standard, he leads us onward step by step toward perfection. But men are prone to sin, hence the evils that befall us. In exact proportion, however, as we follow his teachings and throw ourselves upon him, we are blessed and prospered. Hence it is that Christian countries have progressed so far beyond the civilization of China.

Until within a very few years China has been without the Bible. Her classics have been the sole guide of her masses,

and men being prone to sin, many evils have befallen the empire. Her civilization has remained stationary, for she has been without the revivifying influences of the Gospel. Her philosophers submitted excellent plans and ideals, but for the execution of and compliance with them they depended upon human strength alone. On account of this, then, it was that they failed in bringing their countrymen up to the standard of our Christian civilization. Not that we would say that they could have done better than they did, for we believe they could not. Destitute as they were of the divine word, they did all that could have been done by unaided mortals to improve their fellows. They reared a monument of filial piety, mutual forbearance, improvement of self and fellows, human virtue, ideal government, private and public rectitude, uprightness, sincerity, morality, and humility; then drew their fellow-men by cords of family affection, kindness, and benevolence to gaze upon it through the vista of righteousness, propriety, knowledge, energy, peace, purity, fidelity, truth, duty, and religion. What else was wanting to give life to this vast fabric? Nothing but the moving spirit of the Almighty and the permeating influences of the Gospel.

The missionaries of the cross are at work, but the field is boundless. Occasional spires point heavenward, as ships upon the deep. A few thousand have been saved from among these twenty score of millions. The field is too vast for the number of the laborers. The progress is slow, almost discouraging; but the energy and perseverance of these self-sacrificing philanthropists in a measure atone for the fewness of their numbers. They have left home, friends, familiar scenes, Church endearments, their native civilization, and all the Christian influences under which they have been brought up, to sacrifice themselves for the Redeemer's cause in this distant land. In their devotedness they travel through the interior, scattering the words of salvation broadcast, and, at the risk of their lives, lifting up their voices in the multitudes and pointing toward the bleeding cross. And how many have nobly perished with that immortal, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do," upon their lips! Would that Christian nations would redouble their efforts and send more such laborers to this field to bring to these perishing millions the Bread of Life, and rescue

them from an eternal death! Let the lands of our nativity exert themselves to make some slight recompense for the innumerable blessings which a merciful Father has showered upon them, and strain every nerve to hasten the glorious time when salvation shall be within the reach of all. *Then* will the huge idol of Chinese superiority and superstition be shattered; *then* will China take her place in the family of occidental civilizations; *then*, clothed in righteousness, will she sit at the feet of Jesus; and *then* will a new generation of thinkers arise, to whom the classics will be a study, but not a guide.

Art. VII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Although peace had been secured to the Protestants of Germany, by the treaty of Augsburg, in 1555, the state of the country was still unsettled, and new disturbances were anticipated. The Papists, who had lost so much ground, were waiting the opportunity to recover something back; while the Protestants were intent on keeping all they had gained, and on making, if possible, further encroachments.

Charles V. was succeeded by his brother Ferdinand, and he by his son Maximilian, both of them amiable and upright rulers, who were disposed to observe their treaty obligations, and to regard their subjects, whether Protestants or Catholics, with kindness and impartiality.

Rudolph II., son of Maximilian, was a different character. He was a bigoted Catholic and a persecutor, who involved himself and his house in great trials, and died leaving little of imperial authority except the name. He was succeeded by his brother Matthias, who had long been in contest with Rudolph, and had taken from him most of his dominions. But *his* reign was not peaceful or prosperous, and having no direct heir to succeed him, the government descended to Ferdinand of Gratz, another branch of the Hapsburg family, known in history as Ferdinand II. He was crowned at Frankfort in 1619. He had before been appointed, though not inaugurated, king of Bohemia. The Bohemians were unwilling to accept him as their king, and chose in his stead the elector palatine, Fred-

erick V. But Ferdinand succeeded in driving Frederick into exile, and was at length acknowledged king of Bohemia. This Ferdinand had been educated by the Jesuits, was guided chiefly by their councils, and was, for long years, a principal cause of the troubles which affected Germany.

The Thirty Years' War originated in Bohemia, in 1618, a little previous to the commencement of Ferdinand's reign. Its origin was on this wise: By the existing laws, as understood by the Protestants, they had a right to build new churches, not only in their own provinces, but wherever they were needed throughout the kingdom. In accordance with this right, two churches were erected in the year 1617, one of which was torn down by the Catholics, while the other was closed, and its proprietors imprisoned. An appeal was made to the existing authorities; but these, so far from restraining the aggressors, the rather encouraged them, and Ferdinand, though not yet king of Bohemia, was very severe upon the Protestants.

Enraged by these proceedings, a convention of Protestant delegates assembled at Prague in May, 1618, determined to preserve their own rights, and to take vengeance on their enemies. In this assembly were several Catholics, and among them two, Martinitz and Slavata, who, by various oppressive acts, had made themselves particularly obnoxious. These the Protestant delegates seized, and hurled them out of a three story window. The men were not killed, but a great excitement followed. Anticipating a retribution, the Protestants flew to arms, and, under direction of Count Thorn, took possession of every city in Bohemia which was not occupied by the imperial troops. They had a brave ally in the person of Count Ernest of Mansfeld, who came to their assistance with three thousand men.

Count Thorn advanced with his army upon Vienna, and fired even upon the imperial castle, where Ferdinand had taken up his quarters. The situation of Ferdinand at this time seemed almost desperate. His enemies talked of confining him in a convent, and training up his children in the Protestant faith. But his own firmness did not forsake him; and he was speedily and unexpectedly relieved by the arrival of a body of imperial cavalry. Count Thorn was obliged to retire; and Fer-

dinand hastened to Frankfort, where he was chosen emperor of Germany, as before stated, in 1619.

Sad for Bohemia was the punishment which the new emperor and king soon inflicted on it. Forty-eight of the Protestant leaders were taken prisoners on the same day, and twenty-seven of them were condemned to death. Their property was confiscated, as well as that of many others, among whom was the brave Count Thorn. By degrees the Protestant clergy were all driven out of Bohemia, and an order was issued that no person should be tolerated there who did not adhere to the Catholic religion. It is stated that thirty-thousand families were at this time forced to leave the country, the most of whom went to Saxony and Brandenburg.

To all human appearance, the contest now seemed to be about decided. Bohemia was subjugated, its late king was dethroned and in exile, and Ferdinand had every thing in his own way. But Count Mansfeld was still left to the Protestants, who was an efficient helper, and who employed his forces somewhat independently, as Providence might direct. In a short time he had collected an army of twenty thousand men, and was able to confront Count Tilly, whom the emperor had left to keep the field. Mansfeld did not attempt, however, to recapture Bohemia, but marched his forces into other parts of Germany. In connection with Christian, Duke of Brunswick, he spread desolation among the Catholic bishops on the Rhine. After devastating the Rhenish provinces, they marched together into Holland, and joined the brave Netherlanders in their struggle against the Spaniards.

It now seemed as though peace might be restored to Germany if the victors were inclined to act with moderation. But Ferdinand had no thought of halting in the midst of his revolutionary movements. He considered himself as called upon in providence (to use his own language) "to crush all the seditious factions which had been stirred up chiefly by the heresy of Calvinism;" and he recognized in the success which had thus far crowned his efforts an intimation that God was with him. He succeeded, at this time, in getting one more vote in the college of electors, which placed the majority in the hands of the Catholics.

In these circumstances the Protestants, not being able by

their disjointed efforts to maintain their ground against the Catholics, chose Christian IV., king of Denmark, for their commander in chief. He promised them effective assistance, and England did the same. On the other hand, the emperor found a powerful helper in Albert of Wallenstein, a man of vast wealth and unbounded ambition, who, encouraged by the stars, in which he had great confidence, thought himself able to carry the whole country with him. He attached himself to the emperor, and marched with a troop of cavalry, raised at his own expense, to assist him in an expedition against Venice. For this and for other services Wallenstein received, in 1622, the territory of Friedland, in Bohemia, together with the title of duke. He also purchased about sixty estates of the Bohemian nobility, which had been confiscated after the battle of Prague, and thus made a great addition to his wealth. He soon had an army of no less than fifty thousand men, to be employed in the service of the emperor. But as it had been raised and equipped at his own expense, he had it under his entire control.

Wallenstein was born to command. His eyes were bright and piercing, and his figure proud and lofty, so that his very appearance inspired reverence and awe. In the autumn of 1625 he marched with his new army into lower Saxony. Count Tilly, though engaged in the same cause, was afraid of him and refused to join him. In 1626 he defeated Count Mansfeld on the bridge of Dorsey, and this able defender of the Protestants soon after died. In the same year died his friend, the Duke of Brunswick, and thus were the Protestants deprived of their two ablest generals. At the same time, the king of Denmark, who had been appointed their commander in chief, was able to do but little for them. He was not born to be a military leader, and in the same year was defeated by Tilly, and lost all his artillery. In the following year (1627) Wallenstein marched against him, and drove him out of Germany. It was now seriously contemplated to dethrone him, and appoint Ferdinand king of Denmark.

Meanwhile the army of Wallenstein had increased to one hundred thousand men, and the princes of Germany—even the Catholic princes—were afraid of him. Tilly hated him, for he monopolized for himself all the fruits and the credit of their

joint victories. The emperor himself was no longer able to control him. He lived in a style of pomp and splendor exceeding that of the greatest monarchs, while thousands of wretched beings around him were literally dying of starvation. At the same time, he brought heavy accounts against the emperor for sums which he had advanced in prosecuting the war. His charges amounted to more than three millions of florins, which the emperor being unable to pay, he made over to his proud ally the territories of the duke of Mecklenburg in consideration of the debt. Wallenstein thus became a prince of the empire.

From Mecklenburg Wallenstein turned his eyes to the neighboring province of Pomerania. He wished to get possession of the city of Stralsund, that he might establish a garrison there. But the citizens of Stralsund refused to receive him; and, being assisted by the kings of Denmark and Sweden, they were able to make a formidable resistance. This moved the wrath of the imperious warrior, and he is said to have given utterance to the following oath: "If Stralsund be linked with chains to the very heavens, I swear it shall fall." He was unable, however, to take the city, and having remained before it several weeks and lost twelve thousand of his men, he was obliged to abandon the object and retire.

At this time the king of Denmark desired peace; and, contrary to all expectation, Wallenstein advised the emperor to grant it. The probability is that, being now a prince of the empire, he did not wish to destroy further the power of the German princes. A very advantageous peace was concluded in 1629, by which the king of Denmark recovered all his lands, without being obliged to bear the expenses of the war. But this peace was of short duration, and could hardly be called a peace while it continued. The Roman Catholics thought the opportunity too favorable to be neglected, and resolved to push their claims as far as possible. They demanded of the Protestants the restitution of all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the treaty of Passau in 1552, and the emperor decided that their claims must be granted. "At this order," says a distinguished historian, "the Protestants were completely paralyzed; while the more short-sighted of their enemies hailed it with delight." It produced, as we shall see, not only the greatest confusion, but unutterable calamities all

over Germany. To enforce it the two grand armies of the emperor were kept in the field, and continued their depredations on friends and foes. Wallenstein's army in particular, which had always lived on plunder, caused so much disaster and ruin, that the emperor himself could no longer shut his eyes or his ears against it. His brother, Leopold, wrote him a long letter giving him a most harrowing description of the pillage, the conflagrations, the murderous outrages, and other shameful oppressions which the army inflicted upon the peaceful inhabitants. Such testimony overbalanced all the arguments which the friends of Wallenstein had hitherto urged; and at an assembly of the electoral princes, in the summer of 1630, it was demanded that he should be deprived of the chief command, and to this the emperor was obliged to consent. To the surprise of all, the haughty Wallenstein submitted to the order. He had learned from the stars that it was now time for him to retire. He quietly withdrew to his duchy of Friedland, there to await the progress of events in Germany.

The period on which we are now advancing introduces us to one of the noblest monarchs and bravest warriors of the seventeenth century—Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. In 1611 he succeeded to the Swedish throne; and, influenced partly by injuries received from the emperor and from Wallenstein, partly by compassion for his suffering and all but prostrated brethren—the Protestants of Germany—but more, perhaps, by what he regarded as his manifest destiny in Providence, he declared war against the emperor Ferdinand. On the 24th of June, 1630, he landed on the coast of Pomerania with fifteen thousand Swedes. No sooner had he touched the shore than he dropped on his knees in prayer, and his example was followed by his whole army. With but small and limited means, he had undertaken a mighty enterprise; and how could he succeed in it but by the help of the Almighty? By the Catholics of Germany his coming was regarded with indifference, and even contempt. He was called "the petty king of the north," and "the snow king, who would soon disappear under the rays of the imperial sun." Even the Protestant princes of the empire seemed quite undetermined as to the manner of receiving their new ally. Some were afraid, and dreaded the vengeance of the emperor; some were jealous

of all foreign interference; while others preferred to remain faithful to the existing government, rather than incur the hazard of a change. In vain Gustavus urged them all to unite with him. "Our situation," he said, "is like that of a vessel in a storm. In such case it does not suffice for a few only to labor for the general safety, while the rest fold their arms and look quietly on. If we would succeed we must all work together, and each must perform with his might the particular part assigned to him." But the Protestants in general possessed no such spirit of earnest union, nor did they exhibit that conscientiousness of purpose which was so needful in their circumstances.

Gustavus, being reinforced by a large number of enlisted troops, advanced with rapid marches through Pomerania, beating and putting to flight all the imperialists that stood in his way. He was anxious to press forward to Magdeburg, a Protestant city, which was already besieged by the forces of Count Tilly; but he was hindered by the indifference and opposition of Protestants, until the enemy were successful and the city was lost. And in the sack of this city were witnessed some of the more terrible incidents of the Thirty Years' War. Men, women, and children, the aged and the young, all were massacred alike. Infants at the breasts of their mothers were seized, stabbed, and hurled into the flaming ruins of the city. This scene of horror continued from ten o'clock in the morning until night, nor would Tilly give orders even then that the butchery should cease.

After the capture of Magdeburg, Tilly was very anxious to have a drawn battle with the king of Sweden; but Gustavus was not ready yet. He wished first to restore his cousins, the banished dukes of Mecklenburg, to their rightful possessions, which had been taken from them and given to Wallenstein, and in this he was successful.

Tilly next turned his eyes upon the rich province of Saxony, and advanced upon Leipsic. This brought the elector of Saxony to his senses. He had hitherto stood aloof from Gustavus, but now he joined him without reserve. He entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, and united his army to that of the king. The battle of Leipsic immediately followed, in which Gustavus was victorious. It was a hotly contested

struggle. Tilly lost seven thousand of his men, and came very near losing his life.

This victory was of great importance to the king of Sweden every way. It gave him confidence and strength, and established his reputation as a warrior throughout Europe. From this time he pressed forward more boldly and rapidly, achieving in his progress one continued triumph. The most important cities fell into his hands, some of them voluntarily, and others after a slight resistance. Tilly, though still at the head of an army much more numerous than that of the king, was unwilling to attack him. But after a time he was forced into a battle in Bavaria, where he was mortally wounded and lost his life. The greater part of Bavaria now fell into the hands of Gustavus, and the elector was forced to seek refuge in Ratisbon. The Saxons meanwhile had entered Bohemia and taken Prague.

Ferdinand had now lost the fruits of a twelve years' war. And, worse than this, he found himself threatened even in his patrimonial estates. This was a crisis for which he was in no way prepared. It came upon him like a thunder-clap. In these circumstances he saw but one means of extrication, and that was the recall of Wallenstein.

Nor was this an easy task. This proud man, offended and indignant at being dismissed from the service, now lived in mortified retirement, though in great splendor, brooding over the past. He received the emperor's deputies coldly, and it was only after the most earnest persuasion that he consented to raise for his imperial master an army of thirty thousand men, and of these he was to have the sole and supreme command. He also received additional largesses and promises from the emperor—enough to satisfy his almost boundless ambition.

Wallenstein's first exploit was to recapture Prague, and drive the Saxons out of Bohemia. Joined by the duke of Bavaria, he next made an advance upon Nuremberg, one of the most considerable places in the possession of Gustavus. Here both armies intrenched themselves, each intending, by disease and famine, to force the other to quit its stronghold. Tired of the delay, and sick of the distress and ruin which he saw around him, Gustavus at length abandoned his position, and marching

with sound of trumpet past the enemy, who dared not attack him, he retired into Bavaria.

Wallenstein now left his encampment, set fire to it, and marched into Saxony. The king hastened to meet him and afford relief, and reached Nuremberg on the 11th of November. The good people welcomed him as a deliverer from heaven, and even offended him by the fulsomeness of their adulations. "I fear," said he, "that God will punish me for the folly of these people. It seems as if they were making an idol of me."

As the weather was becoming cold, Wallenstein did not think it advisable to commence hostilities before spring. Gustavus, however, had no thought of delay. He advanced immediately to Weissenfels, and on the 15th of November took his position in front of Wallenstein's army, near Lutzen. On the morning of the battle a thick fog covered the plain, and the Swedes sang Luther's celebrated hymn, "A mighty rock is our God;" also a hymn composed by the king, "Fear not, thou little flock." After a short prayer, when the sun was just emerging from behind the clouds, the king mounted his horse and said, "Now onward! May our God direct us! Help me, O God, this day to fight for the glory of thy name!" Then throwing aside his cuirass, with the words, "God is my shield," he led his troops at once to the front of the imperial army, which was intrenched on the paved road leading from Lutzen to Leipsic. Here occurred one of the most deadly fights that ever took place in the history of the world. I have no time or inclination to trace the particulars of it. Suffice it to say that the Swedes were left in possession of the field, but their beloved monarch lost his life. Owing to his short-sightedness, he was led to advance too near to a squadron of the imperial horse, where he received a shot in the arm and another in the back. With the exclamation, "My God! My God!" he fell from his horse, and was dragged by the stirrup some distance on the ground. His corpse was not discovered till the next day, when it was found so disfigured by the hoofs of the horses, and covered with blood issuing from eleven wounds, that it could hardly be recognized. It was carried first to Weissenfels, and thence, by the desire of the queen—who had followed her royal consort into Germany—it was removed to Stockholm, where it was buried.

Thus passed away, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, Gusta-

vus Adolphus, one of the best and bravest soldiers and sovereigns that ever lived. His courage was the result of his faith. He trusted in God, prayed to him, and gave him the glory of all his achievements. In this respect he resembled Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus; and, in more recent times, the prince of Orange, Oliver Cromwell, and our own Washington. The Germans do well to honor the memory of their great deliverer. A worthy monument marks the spot where he fell; the day of his death is devoutly celebrated; and a society for the spread of the Gospel, bearing his name, is scattering its blessings throughout the earth.

Gustavus Adolphus did not live to close the war in Germany; but he inflicted blows which hastened its termination, and is worthy to be regarded as, under God, the Protestants' deliverer. After his death the Swedish Council, to whom was intrusted the guardianship of his daughter, resolved to continue the war, and appointed his friend, Chancellor Oxenstiern, to fill his place.

Wallenstein, who might have availed himself of this critical moment to push the war to a conclusion, was mysteriously inactive. He busied himself, through the winter, in trying and executing some of his principal officers to whom he attributed the loss of the late battle. He then recruited and reorganized his army; but instead of marching against the Swedes he went into Silesia, where he captured old Count Thorn, one of the early leaders in the war. But instead of executing him, as every one expected, he gave him his liberty.

Bavaria was at this time hard pressed by the Swedish generals, and Wallenstein was entreated to hasten to its relief, but he declined doing so. Indeed, the old man was half dead with the gout, and had become an object of suspicion to the emperor, and of hatred to the German princes generally. A conspiracy was secretly formed against him, and he was murdered at the house of the burgomaster of Eger in the winter of 1634. His vast estates were confiscated after his death, a portion being given to his enemies, but the greater part retained by the emperor.

Ferdinand, son of the emperor and king of Rome, was now placed at the head of the imperial army, and for a time he met with some success. He attacked the Swedes in Franconia and

defeated them. Twenty thousand of their troops were slain or captured, and among the latter was one of their generals. This was a stunning blow to the Protestants. Several of the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony among the rest, made their peace with the emperor, hoping in this way to obtain some relief from their sufferings.

But divine Providence still guarded the cause of truth, and relief at length came from a quarter where it was least expected. The French minister, Richelieu, had long observed with satisfaction the misfortunes of the house of Austria, and the moment, he thought, had now come when he might vend his services to the Protestants of Germany at a profitable rate. While he was torturing and destroying the Huguenots of France, he would cripple the emperor by granting assistance to the Protestants of Germany. Accordingly he made a treaty with Chancellor Oxensteirn, regent of Sweden, by which efficient aid should be afforded. By the help of French money an army was raised, and placed under the command of the duke of Weimar. The Swedes had a brave leader in field-marshal Bannier, who attacked the Saxons—now the allies of Ferdinand—and entirely defeated them. The time had come, too, when Ferdinand himself, so long the principal disturber of Germany, must retire from the scene. He died on the 15th of February, 1637, at the age of fifty-nine, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III.

From this period the war in Germany presents but a continuation of gloomy, disheartening scenes; for, wanting, as it did, a leader of noble genius, and influenced, as its agents were, by motives merely personal and selfish, its whole character assumed an ignoble and mercenary appearance. The duke of Weimar, who was at the head of the Protestant forces, made some important conquests along the Rhine. But he did not live long to enjoy them. He died, under a suspicion of poison, in 1639, at the age of thirty-five.

Efforts had been made for several years to bring about peace, but without success. Richelieu enjoyed seeing Germany cut to pieces by its own people, and encouraged the Protestants to carry on the war. Bannier, the Swedish general, had been committing terrible devastation in Bohemia, but he died in 1641. He was succeeded by Leonard Torstenson, who, though feeble

in body, was, next to Gustavus Adolphus, the most active and talented of any of the generals in this war. He had a series of successes over the imperial troops in Silesia and Moravia, and in one instance approached so near to Vienna as to make the emperor's capital tremble. In the autumn of 1642 he attacked the Austrian commander, Piccolomini, at Leipsic, and entirely defeated him. This was the greatest battle fought in the last period of the war.

In the spring of 1644 the Swedes advanced again into Germany, and defeated the imperial general, Gallas. In the following year Torstenson defeated the Austrian troops in Silesia, capturing one general and killing another. His victorious army now marched upon Vienna, and threatened its capture. But the health of Torstenson failed, and he was obliged to give up the command of the army.

He was succeeded by Gustavus Wrangle, who continued the war with success. He was assisted by a French army under Turenne and Condé. They subjected the whole of Bavaria, so that the elector was constrained to give up further hostilities. Several other of the German Catholic States were led to follow his example, and the emperor was left almost alone to contend with his enemies. The allies were preparing to follow up their successes, when the ears of all concerned were rejoiced with the happy news of peace from Westphalia.

Negotiations had been in progress for several years with a view to peace, but difficulties were encountered which it was hard to overcome. The foreign nations which had interfered, particularly the French and the Swedes, presented their claims, and these must be adjusted. Then the possessions of the several German States, and their relations to the empire, which had been much disturbed during the long struggle, came under discussion and must be settled. But the most difficult subject of all, that which had originated and protracted the war, was that of religion. There need have been no war, and it might have subsided at almost any time, if the Catholics had been willing to concede to the Protestants their religious liberty and rights, and these, in the end, they were obliged to concede. The decrees of the peace of Augsburg, passed in 1555, (and which were ample,) were eventually renewed. They were as follows:—

"1. The Protestants who follow the Confession of Augsburg shall, for the future, be considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of Romish bishops.

"2. They are at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship.

"3. All the inhabitants of the German empire shall be at liberty to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that Church whose doctrine and worship they think the purest and the most consonant to the spirit of pure Christianity.

"4. All those who shall injure or persecute any person under religious pretexts, or on account of their opinions, shall be proceeded against as enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace."

It was further ordered in the new treaty of Westphalia that the Protestants should retain all the ecclesiastical property in lands and churches which they possessed in 1624; also, that no sovereign prince should oppress any of his subjects whose faith differed from his own; and that the imperial council should be composed equally of Protestants and Catholics.

By these regulations the peace of Westphalia became a fundamental law of the empire, and under it the minds of the people were gradually and generally tranquillized. The Protestants had gained all that they contended for, and the Catholics were obliged to sit down defeated and discouraged.

In this same memorable year (1648) the independence of the Dutch Republic was acknowledged in the treaty of Munster, and all claim of sovereignty over it, on the part of Spain, was forever relinquished.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Liberalistic View of the Public School Question. 2. Pantheistic Theories of Soul. 3. The Bismarck of the Eighteenth Century. 4. Symbolism of the Cosmos. 5. Fashions and Principles in Poetry. 6. Can the Immateriality, Spirituality, and Immortality of the Human Soul be Demonstrated? 7. A Partisan Assault upon the Catholic Church.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. Doctrinal Contents of Christ's Teaching in the Synoptical Gospels. 2. Modern Evolution Theories. 3. Comparative Religion. 4. The Life of Dr. Norman Macleod. 5. Baptist Doctrine and the Pulpit. 6. Life and Teachings of Sophocles.

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, December, 1876. (New York.)—1. The Monism of Man. 2. The Influence of Geographical Position on Civilization in Egypt and Greece. 3. Lord Macaulay and his Writings. 4. The Comedies of Plautus. 5. Curiosities of Ancient French Jurisprudence. 6. The Physiology of Lunar Light. 7. The Ancient Scythians and their Descendants. 8. The Bombastic Element in Education.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1877. (New Haven.)—1. Chinese Immigration and Political Economy. 2. As to Roger Williams. 3. The Inward and the Outward; or, the Concrete in Nature, Morals, and Art. 4. Science in the Pentateuch. 5. The Folly of Atheism. 6. John Stuart Mill. 7. Woman's Voice in the Church. 8. Anderson's Histories of Foreign Missions. 9. Horace Bushnell. 10. The New Philosophy of Wealth.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1877. (Boston.) 1. Sketch of the Life of the Hon. Millard Fillmore. 2. Probable Parentage of the Rev. Hugh and Messrs. John and Matthew Adams. 3. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison, 1777–9. 4. Notes on American History. 5. Hollis, N. H., in the War of the Revolution. 6. The Star Spangled Banner. 7. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety, 1776. 8. Services of New Hampshire during the Heroic Age of the Republic. 9. Memoranda from the Rev. William Cooper's Interleaved Almanacs, 1728–30. 10. Seals from the Jeffries Manuscripts. 11. Documents from the Gerrish Manuscripts. 12. Marriages in Pembroke, Mass., Solemnized by the Rev. Thomas Smith. 13. The Slave Trade in Massachusetts. 14. Records of Hull, Mass. 15. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 16. Thomas Hale, the Glover, of Newbury, Mass., 1635, and his Descendants. 17. Letter of the Secret Committee of Congress to Silas Deane in France, 1776. 18. Descendants of John Alger, of Boston. 19. Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 20. List of Innholders, etc., in Boston, 1714.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, January, 1877. (Baltimore.)—1. The Four Gospels. 2. Women of the Revolution. 3. Louis IX., King of France. 4. The Graphic Arts. 5. Vindication of our Philosophy. 6. A Matron and Maid of Greek Romance. 7. Terms of Communion. 8. The Rose in Poetry. 9. Bishop M'Tyeire's Decision.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, January, 1877. (Gettysburg.)—1. Bishop Butler and his Sermons. 2. The Denial of the Cup. 3. Semi-Centennial Necrological Address. 4. The Organic Structure and Prerogatives of Primitive and Apostolic Churches. 5. Our Present Knowledge of the Sun. 6. Confession. 7. The Origin of Life, or the Germ Theory. 8. The Mission of the Church. 9. Lutheran Church Polity.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1876. (Andover.)—1. The Origin of the Concept of God. 2. Theological Education. 3. An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis i and ii. 4. Implements of the Stone Age a Primitive Demarcation between Man and other Animals. 5. Horae Samaritanae; or, a Collection of Various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew and other Ancient Versions. 6. Governmental Patronage of Knowledge. 7. Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language. 8. The Slavic Races and Panslavism. 9. Dr. P. Asmus on Indo-Germanic Natural Religion. 10. John the Baptist. 11. Professor Max Müller and his American Critics.

In article third it is maintained, with a good deal of ingenuity, that the *tohu* and *bohu* of the first chapter of Genesis, rendered "without form and void" in our translation, does not describe a chaos or a nebula, but solid ground. By an induction from all the passages in which the words are used it seems to be shown that they signify *desolation* and *emptiness;* and not only this, but a *desolation* of a land once occupied with structures, and an emptiness or vacancy of a land once occupied with inhabitants, a "*de-structure ing* and a de-people-ing." The inference is that the "creation" of the primitive work was a recreating or renewing. The earth had been occupied by previous races. The writer does not in the present article indicate at what point in geological history this repeopling took place, or what the nature of the previous inhabitants. We may remark that Delitzsch and others maintain that the notices in scripture of the fallen angels indicate such inhabitants, and they trace the desolation of the earth to their sin.

In the fourth article Dr. Thompson emphasizes the fact that the appearance of implements in the strata of the earth marks the distinct appearance of man on the stage.

"There is no instance on record of any animal making an implement for a special use or end. There are animals and birds that use the materials of physical nature with much ingenuity and skill in building their houses and nests. It is enough to instance the intelligence of the beaver in adapting stone, wood, earth, and water to his wants, and in surmounting the obstacles to his task in some less favorable site. There are tribes of *Simiae* that use stones and sticks for cracking nuts or as weapons of defense. But all this is far removed from the making of implements for a purposed use. The beaver chooses his stones, and breaks or twists his sticks; but he never shapes a stone with which to cut and shape a stick. The chimpanzee takes a stone to crack a nut; but he takes it up a stone, and lays it down again a stone; he never shapes it

to a hammer, fits it with a handle, to be reserved for this special use. The baboon throws a stone to wound or frighten his enemy. He never shapes the stone to a spear-head or a battle-ax, to be kept by him for the service of war. No animal goes beyond using the crude material that nature furnishes. He may use this skillfully and well, adapting it to his own necessities; but he does not improve upon nature; does not change the form of her crude material, making of this an instrument for higher ends; does not make an implement in the sense which we attach to that word in the hands of man. Hence the implement is a line of demarkation between man and other animals."

But since it may be objected that advanced apes may have made tools and have been destroyed by developed man in the rivalry of life, the following reply is given:—

"In the present state of scientific knowledge there is no tangible evidence of the existence of any such higher kind of apes. The links between the highest known species and man must have been many and long, but no trace of these has yet been found. True, this is a merely negative reply. But the existence of such species of apes is a pure *assumption* based upon analogy. Now the want of *data*—that is to say, negative evidence—is logically valid against an assumption. Since, then, the links of connection are wanting, this anthropoidal pedigree of man must be held in suspense as only an hypothesis. Darwin presents it with his accustomed modesty. But Haeckel goes so far as to say, 'We must necessarily come to the conclusion that *the human race is a small branch of the group of Catarrhini, and has developed out of long since extinct apes of this group in the Old World.*'"

The reviewer does not indicate at what geological era the implements first appear. Probably he puts the era far earlier than we should. His argument is, therefore, good against the deduction of man from the lower animals, but not for the Hebrew or Septuagint date of the origin of man.

The Bibliotheca Sacra has lately contained two very able articles on Darwinian Evolution, by Rev. George F. Wright, balancing the argument, but giving the preponderance for evolution. Yet man's creation might have been a miracle just like the incarnation and the deeds of Jesus.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1877. (Boston.)—1. Points in American Politics. 2. Daniel Deronda. 3. Richard Wagner's Theories of Music. 4. Bret Harte. 5. The Triumph of Darwinism. 6. The Eastern Question.

March–April, 1877.—1. The Electoral Commission and its Bearings. 2. Demonology. 3. Christian Policy in Turkey. 4. William Henry Seward. 5. English Arctic Expedition. 6. Poetry and Verse-making. 7. The Insurance Crisis. 8. The Centenary of Spinoza. 9. The Silver Question.

The venerable North American has ceased to be a Quarterly! It seems, also, to have ceased to be the political organ of what John Randolph piquantly called "The House of Braintree," the Adams family. The change is manifested in the first number by the fact that the political article comes from the hand of Richard H. Dana, Jun.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1877. (London.)—1. Mahommed and Mahommedanism. 2. Genesis and its First Four Chapters. 3. The Fruit of the Vine in Palestine. 4. John of Barneveld and the Synod of Dort. 5. The Moral Argument for Christianity. 6. Vatican Influence in the Sixteenth Century. 7. The Doctrine of the Westminster Confession on Scripture. 8. Unitarian Christianity in Creed and Worship.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877. (London.)—1. Julian's Letters. 2. The Poetry of the Old Testament. 3. Alexander Vinet. 4. Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament. 5. Herbert Spencer's Sociology: its Ground, Motive, and Sphere. 6. Guizot's History of France. 7. The Servian War.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877. (London.)—1. The Turkish Power—its Origin, History, and Character. 2. Roman Catholic Literature in China. 3. Indian Pantheism. 4. Charles G. Finney. 5. The Hidden Life in the Colossian Epistle. 6. Arctic Heroes. 7. The Anglo-American Churches of the United States. 8. George Eliot and Comtism.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1877.—1. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. 2. Old Norse Mirror of Men and Manners. 3. Dr. Carpenter's Mental Physiology. 4. English Policy in South Africa. 5. Geographical and Scientific Results of the Arctic Expedition. 6. A French Critic on Milton. 7. Mohammed and Mohammedanism. 8. A Ramble Round the World. 9. The Eastern Question and the Conference.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1877.—1. A Ministry of Justice. 2. The Warfare of Science. 3. The Factory and Workshop Acts. 4. The Life of the Prince Consort. 5. The Turkish Question: Russian Designs and English Promoters of them. 6. John Locke. 7. The Financial Difficulties of the Government of India.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Eleventh Year. Strahan & Co., Paternoster Row, London.

NOTES TO ARTICLE FOURTH.

As Catholicism in Maryland is constantly quoted as a case of toleration, the following article was furnished by Mr. E. D. Neill to test the history. After quoting Cardinal Wiseman's

boast and Bancroft's eulogistic history of the supposed toleration, Mr. Neill first gives

A Biographical Notice of Lord Baltimore.

If we would understand the principles of the Maryland Charter, it is desirable to know something of the man in whose interest it was framed. Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, it is said, was the son of a respectable Yorkshire grazier. At an early age he became a student of Trinity, Oxford, and in February, 1596–7, graduated. His talents, industry, and executive force quickly gave him position under Sir Robert Cecil, the efficient Secretary of State. He had just attained manhood when, in 1606, he represented Bossiney, Cornwall, in Parliament. About the year 1608 he was made clerk of the Privy Council, where he attracted the attention of the pedantic as well as coarse-mouthed King James; and in 1612 assisted his royal master in writing the tractate against Vorstius, the successor of Arminius in the University of Leyden.

Five years later he was made a knight, and in 1619 he became a Secretary of State, and thus learned much relative to the colonization of America.

As early as April, 1619, he informs the Virginia Company of London that the king wishes to transport a man suspected of deer-stealing, and the following November is in earnest consultation with the members relative to the speedy dispatch of fifty convicts in Bridewell to the new settlements on the banks of the James River.

After meeting with considerable opposition because he was the king's secretary and a non-resident, he was in 1626 elected a member of Parliament for Yorkshire. The session began January 30, 1620–21, and from the first day he stood up as advocate of the royal prerogative, in opposition to Pym, Coke, and other leaders of the party of the people. It was at this period, before he became a Roman Catholic, that he began his Newfoundland plantation.

In the year 1622 the death of his wife, and the marriage of his eldest son, Cecil, to Anna, the beautiful daughter of Arundel, a Roman Catholic earl, caused the formation of new associations, which had a potent influence upon his future. From that time he grew more intimate with Gondomar, the Spanish, and Tillieres, the French embassador, and was much occupied in preparing articles of agreement for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain. When this plan failed Calvert became increasingly unpopular with the majority of Parliament, and it was necessary for the king to make him less prominent. "Secretary Calvert," says a letter written on August 7, 1624, to Sir Dudley Carleton, "droops and keeps out of the way."

A royal favorite a few months later, he was permitted to sell his secretaryship, and about two weeks before the death of James I. was created Baron of Baltimore, with a grant of land in the county of Longford, Ireland. Goodman, once the Protestant

Bishop of Gloucester, after he joined the Church of Rome, writing of Calvert, said:—

"As he was the only secretary employed in the Spanish match, so undoubtedly he did what good offices he could therein for religion's sake, being infinitely addicted to the Roman Catholic faith, having been converted thereto by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel, whose daughter Secretary Calvert's son had married."—Pages 617–619.

Omitting his attempt to colonize Newfoundland, we trace

His Landing in Virginia.

He found John Pott, a Master of Arts and physician-general, the acting governor, and probably the same person who with him and Thomas West, afterward the Lord Delaware, had in 1605 received the degree of A.M. at Oxford. As he desired to settle, the colonial authorities offered to Baltimore the usual oath of allegiance, which he declined. The Virginia officers report to the council in England:—

"According to the instructions from your lordships and the usual course held in this place, we tendered the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to his lordship and some of his followers, who, making profession of the Romish religion, utterly refused to take the same, a thing which we would not have doubted in him, whose former employments under his late majesty might have insured a persuasion he would not have made a denial of that, in point whereof consists the loyalty and fidelity which every true subject oweth unto his sovereign. His lordship offered to take the oath, a copy whereof is included; but in true discharge of the trust imposed upon us by his majesty, we could not imagine that so much latitude was left for us to decline from the prescribed form, so strictly exacted and so well justified and defended by the pen of our late sovereign, king James, of happy memory."

Baltimore's determination to dwell in Virginia was not dampened by this rebuff, and he proceeded to England to confer with his friend Charles I. The Duke of Norfolk, the brother of his son Cecil's wife, the same year contemplated a settlement, and the Virginia Legislature, in acknowledgment of the intention, created the present county of Norfolk. In 1631 Baltimore obtained a grant of land south of James River; but the opposition of Francis West, who was Lord Delaware's brother, and others, was so decided that it was canceled. He still persevered, and in 1632, just before his death, was promised a charter for lands alleged to be unoccupied by Englishmen north and east of the Potomac River.

When Charles I. asked what the country ceded should be named, Baltimore said that Carolana, a good name, had been already given to the province of Attorney-General Heath. "Let us then," said the king, "name it after the queen. What think you of Mariana?" He was reminded that this was the name of the Spanish historian who taught that the will of the people was greater than the law of tyrants. Still disposed to compliment the

queen, the king then said, "Let it be Terra Mariæ," which is translated Maryland.—Pages 619–620.

No Toleration in Baltimore's Charter.

When we examine the Maryland charter it is found to contain *neither the elements of civil nor religious liberty*, but to be just such an instrument as the friend of James and his son Charles would wish.

To him and his successors is given full and absolute power to ordain, make, and enact laws, with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the province; but they could not meet without his permission, and until they met he was empowered to make wholesome laws. He had authority also to appoint all judges, justices, and constables.

There is not a line in the whole instrument which indicates toleration in religion. In all charters of that age granting lands in uncivilized countries there is a reference to the extension of Christianity. The Virginia charter of 1606 was given by King James, to use its words, because

"So noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The instructions to the first Virginia expedition conclude thus:

"Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all goodness, for every plantation which our heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

In the Maryland charter there is only a slight reference to the extension of Christianity, and that is a transcript of the Carolana charter of 1629:—

CAROLANA.	MARYLAND.
"Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject, Sir Robert Heath, our Attorney-General, being excited with a laudable zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith."	"Whereas our beloved and right trusty subject, Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, etc., being animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion."

But the Maryland charter, while recognizing Christianity in general terms, *confined its development within the Church of England.* The proprietary had the patronage of all Churches, "*and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England.*" This examination clearly proves the error of those who assert that by this charter "equality in religious rights not less than in civil freedom was assured."

We will now proceed to consider the inaccurate statements concerning the first company of Maryland settlers.—Pages 620–621.

His Maryland Colony was chiefly Protestant.

It was not until the autumn of 1633 that Cecil, Lord Baltimore, gathered a company to begin a plantation.

On October 29 one hundred and twenty-eight persons were on board of the *Ark* at anchor near Gravesend, and to them Hawkins, the searcher for London, administered the oath of allegiance. This vessel of three hundred and fifty tons, and the *Dove*, a pinnace of fifty tons, sailed in November, with about three hundred persons, including the crews.

At the Isle of Wight, where there was not a close watch, they stopped, and here came on board the Jesuits, Andrew White and John Altham, *alias* Gravener, with two associates, John Knowles and Thomas Gervase, as assistants. White was over sixty years of age, but still vigorous. Gravener and Gervase had both been members of the Jesuit college at Clerkenwell, which had been broken up by the English authorities. Before the vessels reached Chesapeake Bay, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, on January 10, 1633–34, writes to Wentworth:—

"I have, by the help of some of your lordship's good friends and mine, overcome these difficulties, and sent a hopeful colony into Maryland, with a fair and favorable expectation of good success, however, without any danger of any great prejudice unto myself in respect that many others are joined with me in the adventure. There are two of my brothers gone, with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred laboring men, well provided in all things."

This statement is very different from that of modern historians. Grahame magnifies "very near twenty gentlemen," both Protestant and Roman Catholic, into "about two hundred gentlemen, of considerable rank and fortune, professing the Roman Catholic faith." Bancroft, more guarded, says, "Two hundred people, most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen, and their servants."

The number that took the oath of allegiance, and other facts, prove that from the first the colony *was chiefly Protestant.* On the voyage twelve died, but only two confessed to the Jesuits, and acknowledged that they were Roman Catholics.

The two commissioners of the colony were Thomas Cornwallis and Jerome Hawley. They were the leading minds—men of experience. Cornwallis, described in a pamphlet of that day as "a noble, right valiant, and politic soldier," was the son of Sir William, and grandson of Sir Charles, once embassador to Spain. He was the father of the Rev. Thomas Cornwallis, rector of Ewarton, Suffolk, whose son and grandson also became presbyters in the Church of England. This Cornwallis, of Maryland, was also the ancestor of the gifted and learned authoress of "Small Books on Great Subjects," Frances Cornwallis, who died in the year 1858. Hawley was the brother of the governor of Barbadoes, and was soon made treasurer of Virginia.

Leonard Calvert and his associates reached the mouth of the

Potomac in March, 1634, and the *Ark* and the *Dove* stopped for a few days at an island.—Pages 621, 622.

Maryland Itself was Protestant.

Maryland had already been explored, and to some extent occupied. About the year 1619 Ensign Savage explored the Chesapeake Bay. Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," states that Edward Palmer, of Leamington, who died before 1625, resolved to found an academy in Virginia, "in order whereunto he purchased an island called Palmer's Island," which was in that bay, near the mouth of the Susquehanna River. Kent Island, in the same bay, was represented in the Legislature of Virginia before Calvert's arrival. The waters of the Potomac also had for years been resorted to by New England vessels. Henry Fleet, a Protestant, had for ten years established trading posts at Indian villages, and Calvert, in the pinnace, went up the river to ask his advice. Fleet came back with him, and recommended Yoacomaco as a place for settlement, an Indian town, one of his old posts. Hither the colonists came, and, before the first of April, all had landed, and the town was henceforth called St. Mary.

At an early period Lord Baltimore and the settlers came into collision. Like their Virginian neighbors, they enacted in their Assembly a body of laws, and sent them to England for his approval, but he showed that he had the same views as to the rights of the people as when a leader of the king's party in Parliament, and rejected them. He courteously upheld the position of James I.: "It is the king that makes the laws, and ye are to advise him to make such as will be best for the commonwealth;" and pointed to the monarchical power of originating all the laws vested in him by the charter.

It was not until 1638 that they were allowed to have another assembly to advise and consult on the affairs of the province. It met on the twenty-fifth of January, and the Rev. John Lewger, formerly a rector of the Church of England, now a Roman Catholic, lately arrived, appeared as the first secretary of the province.

Laws, prepared by Baltimore, were presented, and the independent colonists refused to receive them, and the body dissolved. In February they came together again, and Cornwallis led them in opposition to Governor Calvert, and they decided to separately consider each law proposed, and it was at last resolved that all laws should be read three times, on three several days, before a vote was taken, and declared their wish that all bills for acts should emanate from a committee of their own body.

Lord Baltimore, finding he could not exercise the arbitrary power claimed, in 1639 called a third assembly, and they emphatically declared that the colonists of Maryland were to have all the liberties Englishmen had at home, and then adopted the statute of England that "Holy Church shall have all her rights and

liberties." The holy Church was that of the charter, *the Church of England*."—Pages 622, 623.

Machinations of the Romanists.

The political agitation seemed more prominent than the religious, because no Church of England ministers accompanied the colonists.

The only ecclesiastics appear to have been those already mentioned. They were active, devoted servants of their order. They taught that there was no salvation outside of the Church of which the Pope was the visible head. With the governor in sympathy, they could not have had a more desirable field, and they used their opportunity. Even the Indians were influenced by their teachings. They relate the following story in their narrative lately printed by the Maryland Historical Society:—

The chief of the Piscataways, who lived but a few miles below the present city of Washington, the capital of the Republic, told Father White that he dreamed that he saw his dead parent worshiping a dark and *hideous spirit;* then appeared a ludicrous demon, accompanied by one Snow, "an obstinate heretic from England." At length Governor Calvert and Father White came, in the company of a beautiful god of exceeding whiteness and gentle demeanor; and since that time, said the Indian warrior, he had been drawn by the cords of love toward the black-robes, the Jesuits. The interpretation of the dream was plain. The hideous and repulsive spirit was heathenism, the ludicrous demon was Protestantism, the tender divinity of exceeding whiteness was Romanism. The "obstinate heretics" were not satisfied with the condition of things, and as early as December 26, 1635, at a meeting of the Privy Council at the palace of Charles I., Archbishop Laud being present, it was reported that one Rabuet, of Saint Mary, had declared that it was lawful to kill a heretic king, and that public mass was held in Maryland.

But the Jesuits did not abate their zeal. Their Journal says:—

"On Protestants as well as Catholics we have labored, and God has blessed our labors, for of the Protestants who came from England this year [1637–8] almost all have been converted to the faith, besides many others, with four servants that were bought for necessary use in Virginia; and of five workmen we hired, we have in the meantime gained two."

When the news reached England of the open violation of the laws by the Jesuits there was a good deal of indignation at their tampering with the religion of the colonists, and it received the attention of Parliament.

In the remonstrance of the House of Commons on December 1, 1641, presented to Charles I. at Hampton Court, the complaint was made that he had permitted "another State molded within this State, independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of religion."

After this Lord Baltimore acted as if he thought the zeal of the Jesuits was without knowledge, or ashamed of his friends, for on March 7, 1642, quite in the intolerant spirit of that age, he wrote these words:—

"Considering the dependence of the State of Maryland on the State of England, unto which it must as near as may be conformable, no ecclesiastic in the province ought to expect, nor is Lord Baltimore nor any of his officers, although they are Roman Catholics, obliged in conscience to allow such ecclesiastics any more or other privileges, exemptions, or immunities for their persons, lands, or goods, than is allowed by his majesty or other officers to like persons in England."

The next year also he sends to Boston and invites the Puritans to settle in Maryland, but none accepted the offer.—Pages 623, 625.

The Real Authors of the Act of Toleration were Protestants.

After Charles I. was imprisoned Lord Baltimore began to curry favor with the dominant [Puritan] party in England, and he displaced the Roman Catholic governor of Maryland, and appointed William Stone, of Virginia, a strong Protestant, and a friend of Parliament, in his stead. The new governor entered into negotiations with the Puritans of Nansemond, who consented to settle in Maryland upon the conditions that they should have liberty of conscience, and choose their own officers. Soon after they arrived on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, in April, 1649, the Legislative Assembly met and passed the memorable Act of Toleration, embodying the spirit of "that golden apple, the ordinance of toleration," passed by Parliament, to which their former pastor, Harrison, alludes in a letter to Governor Winthrop.

It has generally been supposed that Lord Baltimore prepared the act, but in the statement of his case, published at London in 1653, it is distinctly asserted that this and other laws *were first enacted in Maryland, and were not engrossed and approved by him until August*, 1650.

The members of the Assembly of 1649 *were largely Protestant, and the majority Puritan.* Hammond, a Baltimore partisan, asserts that it consisted of Puritans and other Protestants, and "*a few papists.*" The Assembly of 1649 also "overhauled the oath of fidelity," says another writer of the day, and added a clause that liberty of conscience should not be infringed.—Pages 626, 627.

From all this it appears that Baltimore was under a Protestant sovereign; that the toleration act was passed by Protestants; and that Baltimore had no hand in its passage, but signed it in England because he could do nothing else. Baltimore was the pet and tool of Charles I., and deserves no reverence from mankind. Thus ends the romance of "Catholic toleration in Maryland."

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1877. Second Number. *Essays:* 1. KOESTLIN, State, Law, and Church in Evangelical Ethics, (Second and concluding Article.) 2. WIESELER, A few Remarks on the Roman Documents in Josephus, (*Antiq.*, 12, 10, 14, 8, and 14, 10.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. TOLLIN, Servetus' Dialogues on the Trinity. 2. KOENIG, The Remainder of the Works of Baruch. *Reviews:* 1. ACHELIS, The Sermon on the Mount, (Die Bergpredigt nach Mathäus und Lukas, Bielefeld, 1876,) reviewed by SCHMIDT. 2. KOEHLER, Irvingism, (Het Irvingisme,) reviewed by SCHWARZ. *Miscellaneous:* 1. Programme of the Haag Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion. 2. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society at Haarlem for 1877.

The article by Professor Köstlin on "State, Law, and Church," concludes the interesting discussion on the limits of State jurisdiction. It treats especially of the right and duty of the State Government with regard to social life and to religious denominations. In our own country only one aspect of this question —the rights claimed for the State with regard to public instruction—has enlisted the national attention, and is rapidly increasing in importance, many being even inclined to look upon it as one of the great political questions of the future. In some countries of Europe, and especially in Germany, two other questions constitute at present the subject of most exciting controversies. The one is the demand of the Socialists, that the State Government should take charge of all the material labor to be performed within the State, execute it by means of an immense common capital, distribute it among individual citizens according to their individual capacities, and reward every individual according to his merit. In the United States the Socialists as a party are almost unknown. The great newspapers hardly take notice of them, and at the political elections they do not yet make their appearance as an organized party. In Germany the entirely unexpected strength developed by the social democracy at the new election of a German Reichstag in January, 1877, has thus far been the greatest sensation of the present year in the political world. In no less than thirteen districts they elected their candidates by a majority of all the votes cast, and in a still larger number their candidates polled the largest vote next to the successful candidate. In the kingdom of Saxony the aggregate votes received by their candidates by far exceed the vote cast for the candidates for any of the other parties. The outlook

appears sufficiently critical to induce distinguished writers of all political and religious parties to give at length their views on the condition of society, on the improvement of the situation of the laboring classes, and on the aversion of the great dangers which, in the opinion of many, threaten to subvert the entire fabric of the present society. The recent German literature on this subject is quite considerable, and the extracts given from some of the principal works by Professor Köstlin very interesting. Among the more important works of this class are Schmoller, "On some Fundamental Questions of Law and Political Economy," (1875;) Treitschke, "Socialism and its Patrons," (1875;) Martensen, "Socialism and Christianity," (1875;) Meitzen, "The Joint Responsibility of the Educated and Wealthy Classes for the Welfare of the Working Men," (1876;) Geffken, "Socialism," (1876;) Thiersch, "On the Christian State." None of these writers sympathize with the political and atheistical radicalism of the socialist party. Some, however, make to them the concession that on the part of the State Government more might and should have been done in behalf of the poorer, and, in general, of the laboring classes; and that the State Government may greatly extend its spheres of action in this direction. A distinguished Protestant theologian, Bishop Martensen, of the Lutheran Church of Denmark, goes so far as to demand that the State from time to time fix the laborers' wages, and adopt suitable measures for restricting the undue power of capital. This wish relative to capital Professor Köstlin regards as quite reasonable, but he finds fault with Martensen for not showing how the State can realize it, and he believes that all that the State will ever be able to do will be little in comparison with what Christian capitalists can and should do. As regards the relations between State and Church, Professor Köstlin, as may be expected, favors the continuance of a union between Church and State as it now exists in most of the European countries, though he deems the establishment of ecclesiastical self-government, by means of Church synods, for the regulation of all questions of a religious character, as indispensable for the preservation of the evangelical Church. The recent literature on this subject is also extensively quoted and thoroughly reviewed.

In addition to the Book of Baruch, which is one of the Biblical Apocrypha of the Old Testament, there are now known to theologians two works bearing the name of Baruch, which belong to the class of so-called pseudepigraphal books. The one is the *Apocalipsis Baruchi*, which was published in 1871 by Fritzsche, in an appendix to his *Libri Apocriphi Vet. Test.;* the other is "The Remainder of the Words of Baruch," which Dr. E. König, of the Thomas School of Leipsic, has translated in the present number of the "Studien" from the Ethiopic. It appears to be the first translation into any of the modern languages. The Ethiopic translation was for the first time published by Dillmann, in 1866, in his *Christomathia Æthiopica;* and a Greek version, in 1868, by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana.* A careful comparison of the Ethiopic and Greek versions, made by Dr. König, showed considerable difference, and made it probable that the Ethiopic version resembled the original (which is as yet unknown) more than the Greek. As the publication of these two pseudepigraphal books does not go back farther than 1866, neither of them could be mentioned in the first volume of M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, (articles Apocrypha and Baruch,) which bears date of 1867, but the printing of which was begun even before 1866.

The review of Köhler's work on Irvingism, (*Het Irvingisme*, Hague, 1876,) by Schwarz, is an interesting contribution to the recent history of Irvingism, or, as it is officially called, the Catholic Apostolic Church. This remarkable sect was first introduced into Holland, in 1863, by a German minister, Schwartz of Berlin, who had been appointed "apostle of the Netherlands" by the Berlin prophet, Henry Geyer; while an English apostle, Woodhouse, who differed from Geyer's views on the continuance of the apostolate among the Irvingites, excommunicated him. The sect soon gained in Dr. Isaac Capadose, the son of the celebrated Jewish convert Capadose, an able and influential representative. Capadose resigned a high office in the colonial ministry, became, in 1865, priest, and in 1868 angel-evangelist. Though a number of members have since been gained, congregations of any importance have only been organized in Hague and Rotterdam. (Köhler estimates their total number at five hundred.) Chiefly owing to

the indefatigable zeal of Dr. Capadose the sect has recently gained a footing also in Denmark, though their number is unknown, as the members are advised to remain nominally connected with the Lutheran Church, although on joining the Irvingites they must look upon the State Church as the "synagogue of the antichrist." In the country of its origin (England) the sect appears at present to make no progress. In March, 1851, it numbered thirty-two Churches and four thousand nine hundred and eight adherents. Since then no reliable statistics have been published. In Prussia the sect had, according to the latest statistical reports, seventy-four congregations and five thousand and seventy-nine members. The congregation in Berlin numbers nine hundred persons, and has two chapels.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History. Edited by Dr. Theodore Brieger, Professor of Theology at Marburg. Third Number.) *Researches and Essays:* 1. HARNACK, On the So-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. (Second Article.) 2. GASS, Contributions to a History of Ethics; Vincent of Beauvais and the Speculum Morale, (First Article.) 3. RITCH, On the Two Principles of Protestantism. *Critical Reviews:* Works on Church History published in 1875. III. History of French Protestantism. By Th. Scott. *Miscellaneous:* 1. DUMMLER, Jewish Proselytes in the Middle Ages. 2. TSCHAKERT, Pseudo-Labarella's "Capita Agendorum," and their True Author. 3. LENZ, An Ecclesiastical Political Work on Reform from the Œcumenical Council of Basel. 4. BENRATH, On the Letter supposed to have been written by Melanchthon to the Venetian Senate. 5. Two Letters of Dr. Eck published by E SCHULTZE. 6. EUBAXIAS, Statistical Report of the Church of the Kingdom of Greece.

The third number of this Journal for Church History will greatly strengthen the high reputation which this new representative of German Theology has already acquired. The titles of the articles as quoted above attest their interesting character, and the names of the authors are a sufficient guarantee for their intrinsic value. The critical review of entire sections of the recent literature on Church History continues to be specially interesting. The article in the present number does not strictly confine itself, as the heading announces, to works published in 1875, but treats in an exhaustive manner of all the recent literature on the subject. The Reformed Church of France is uncommonly rich in documents relating to her early history, as the discipline of the Church directed each Church to record all ecclesiastical occurrences of importance. The careful and extensive study of these documents in modern times is chiefly due to an excellent Protestant Society, the *Société de l'histoire*

du Protestantisme français, which was founded in 1852, and has always counted among its directors a number of distinguished men. Among the present members we find, among other distinguished authors, the names of Charles Waddington, Maurice Block, the best statistician of France; F. Schickler, Jul. Delaborde, Jul. Bonnet, H. Bordier, Charles Read, E. Sayous. The society causes, at its own expense, researches to be made in libraries and archives, publishes inedited manuscripts and valuable works which are out of print, and proposes prize questions which have led to the completion of a number of valuable works, as for instance, "A. Court: *Histoire de la Restauration du Protestantisme en France, au xviii siècle d'après des documents inédits*, by E. HUGUES, Paris, 1872. This society has given an interesting outline of its history in the treatise, *Notice sur la société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, 1852–1872, (Paris, 1874,) and it possesses an excellent organ in the monthly *Bulletin historique et literaire*, (vol. 24, 1875,) which is edited by its secretary, Jules Bonnet. The society also possesses a library which was founded Nov. 10, 1865, and contains by far the best collection of books, (now more than 7,000,) engravings, German reviews, manuscripts, medals, photographs, etc., relating to the history of Protestantism in France. The society has recently begun a new and enlarged edition of one of the chief works produced by French Protestants, the "France Protestante" of the brothers Haag. An account of this new edition has already been given in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review. The publication of three other important works is contemplated by the Society, a history of French Protestant literature, a French Protestant bibliography, and a geography of French Protestantism, all of which are greatly needed, for the immense abundance of material on individual localities and persons makes the compilation of general works all the more difficult. Even a comprehensive and exhaustive history of French Protestantism is still wanting, as the well-known work by the late Professor De Felice, *Histoire des Protestant, de France*, (sixth edition continued from 1861 to the present day by Professor Bonifas, of Montauban, Toulouse, 1875,) is only a compendium; and the greatest work on the subject by the late German General Von Polenz (*Geschichte des Französischen Calvinismus bis zur Nationalversamm-*

lung im Jahre, 1789, 5 vols., Gotha, 1857–1869) has not been completed. After this account of the *Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français* and its literary activity, the author of the critical review enumerates a very large number of works published in France or Germany relative to the history of French Protestantism. Many of them are only of local interest, and we can only notice briefly some of the more important ones. Of the excellent edition of the complete works of John Calvin which is published by Professors Baum, Cunitz, and E. Reuss of Strassburg, vols. 13 and 14, containing the letters of Calvin from 1548 to 1553, appeared in 1875. A work on this reformation in Geneva before Calvin, by Pietschker, (*Die Lutherische Reformation in Genf*, Cöthen, 1875,) is of importance, as a Protestant reply to the Catholic work by Kampschulte on Calvin (Leipsig, 1869) was generally felt as a great want. A posthumous volume of the celebrated work by Merle D'Aubigné (*Histoire de la Reformation en Europe au temps de Calvin*, tom. vi, Paris, 1875) treats of the appearance of Calvin in Geneva, the disputation in Lausanne, the banishment of Calvin and his colleagues, his marriage with Idelette de Bure, his controversy with Sadolet, and his approaching return to Geneva. The history of the principal Protestant colleges is treated in a series of articles published in the *Bulletin*, (1873, 1875,) by Gaufres; the history of the Reformed pulpit orators, and chiefly of J. Saurin, in a work by Berthallet, (*J. Saurin et la predication Protestante jusqu'à la fin du regne de Louis XIV.*, Paris, 1875;) the history of Alexander Vinet, the greatest Protestant theologian of French Switzerland, in a work by Rambert, (*Vinet, histoire de sa vie et de ses ouvrages*, Lausanne, 1875.)

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) September, 1876.—1. E. DE GUERLE, Edgar Quinet, (First Article.) 2. E. DE PRESSENSE, The Bible and Conscience. 3. FRANK PUAUX, Some Remarks on Germany.

October, 1876.—1. ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, Groen van Prinsterer. 2. E. DE GUERLE, Edgar Quinet, (Second Article.) 3. F. LICHTENBERGER, The New Temple of Strasburg, (First Article.)

November, 1876.—1. STAFFER, The Essenian Sect. 2. PENEL, Primary Instruction in Paris. 3. F. LICHTENBERGER, The New Temple of Strasburg, (Second Article.) 4. H. S., The Day of the Innocents at Westminster Abbey.

December, 1876.—1. BOUVIER, Esaie Jaso. 2. CH. WADDINGTON, Bonnet's "Last Accounts of the Sixteenth Century." 3. F. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicles.

January, 1877.—Pressensé, The Philosophical and Religious Crisis. 2. E. W., Macaulay. 3. Recolin, A Reception at the Academy.

February, 1877.—1. BONNET, Reminiscences of Augustin Thierry. 2. REY, John Stuart Mill, (Third Part.) 3. F. PUAUX, Paris and Montauban, (First Article.) 4. F. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicles.

In the preface to the number of December, 1876, the editors announce that during the next year (the twenty-fourth of its publication) it will publish articles from E. de Pressensé, on "The Actual Mission of Protestantism," "A Christian Worship at Alexandria at the Time of Origen," and on "Christian Doctrines;" from Eug. Bersier, on "Final Causes," according to the book of M. Janet; from E. de Guerle, on "Charles de Remusat;" from Ruffet, an historical essay on "Bernardino of Ochino;" from Sabatier, on "Baur and the Tübingen School;" from Staffer, an essay on "Judaism at the Time of Jesus Christ;" from Francis de Pressensé, on "Lord Palmerston and the Eastern Question;" from Jules Bonnet, on the "Reminiscences of the Last Years of the Life of Augustin Thierry." Articles have also been promised by Ernest Naville, Lichtenberger, Ch. Waddington, A. Matter, F. Puaux, and other contributors whose names are familiar to the regular readers of the "Review."

M. Penel, in the November number, gives an interesting abstract of an important work on "Primary Instruction in Paris and the Department of the Seine," by M. Gréard, one of the Inspectors General of Public Instruction. A census taken in 1873 showed that there were in Paris 105,331 children from two to six years, and 186,693 children from six to fourteen years, or, in all, 292,024 children from two to fourteen years. On the other hand, the number of children registered

in the *salles d'asiles* and in the public and free schools was 184,646. Supposing, therefore, that from 1873 to 1874 the school population remained about stationary, it would follow, from a comparison of the two figures just quoted, that there were 107,378 children between the ages of two and fourteen who did not attend either any school or *salle d'asile*, and the number attending the one or the other class of educational institutions was 184,646. From this number we must, however, deduct 10,112 pupils of schools who are older than fourteen years, and thus the actual attendance of the schools and *salles d'asiles* was reduced to 174,534, and the aggregate number of children not attending any of these institutions is found to be 117,490. This apparently very large number of illiterate children fortunately admits, however, of very large deduction. There are 11,147 pupils of lyceums, colleges, and free secondary schools; and, contrary to the general supposition, a very large proportion of these pupils are the children of Parisians. The number of children who receive private instruction at home is estimated at 45,500, and the number of those who attend irregularly, and are not included in the school register, at 28,000. The aggregate number of these three classes of pupils being 84,647, the number of children from two to fourteen years receiving no instruction would be 32,843. Of these, 14,527 are children from two to six, and 18,316 children from six to fourteen years. Although a considerable number of children still remain without any instruction, the seating capacity of the public *salles d'asiles* and the public schools is still insufficient for all the children registered, the latter exceeding the former by 38,886. Great efforts are, however, now made by the municipal government of Paris to remedy this want, and by comparing the school statistics of Paris with those of other large cities, as Geneva, Vienna, Dresden, Washington, and New York, M. Gréard shows that Paris can already stand a comparison with a number of these cities. The progress made since 1830 is astonishing, and it may be hoped that under the wise administration of the present Minister of Public Instruction, M. Waddington, the efforts made by the advocates of educational progress will be successful. M. Gréard, the Inspector General of public schools, whose work on primary education in Paris has called forth this article of

the "Christian Review," deserves a prominent place among the promoters of public education. Besides the work already mentioned, he has published a very useful collection, in three volumes, of all the French laws, decrees, etc., relating to primary instruction, under the title, *La Legislation de l'Instruction Primaire en France, depuis* 1789, *jusqu'à nos jours.* (Paris, 1874.) The first volume contains, in chronological order, the legislation from 1789 to 1848, the second that from 1848 to 1874, and the third a very complete analytical table, giving the substance of all the laws in alphabetical order.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CHURCH OF GREECE.

A THEOLOGIAN of the national Church of Greece, A. Papalukas Eutaxias, who has studied theology at one of the German universities, communicates to the *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte* an interesting account of the condition of his Church. As reliable information on the Eastern Churches is by no means abundant, we extract from this article the most interesting facts:—

A new epoch for the Church of Greece began to dawn as early as the beginning of the present century. The oppression by the Turks had somewhat relaxed, and the favorable opportunity was at once seized to improve the condition of the Church. In the preceding centuries the examples of theological learning among the higher clergy had been isolated; but now, after a certain authorization had been obtained from the Turkish Government to establish schools of a higher grade in the large towns, the cases of ignorance became rare. The war of independence proved a great turning-point. The Church of Greece regarded it as her first task to provide for a better education of the clergy, and (as efficient measures for the immediate education of the entire clergy could not at once be taken) especially for that of the higher clergy, the bishops and the itinerant ministers who were to assist the former. A first attempt made by the Government of Capodistrias to establish a seminary on the island of Paros failed. During the reign of King Otho I., in 1837, the University of Athens was founded, which contained among its faculties one of theology, which soon shaped itself, so far as circumstances would allow, after the model of the faculties of Protestant theology of Germany. Since then the bishops and the itinerant clergy have been chiefly taken from the ranks of the students of the theological students of the University of Athens. This practice of the Church of Greece was imitated by the Greek Church of Turkey, as soon it received a higher degree of liberty through the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane, (1839,) and the Hatti-Humayum, (Feb. 18, 1856.) As there were not sufficient resources for found-

ing a complete university, the Church had to content herself with the establishment of two theological seminaries, (Θεολογικαὶ Σχολαί,) the one upon the island of Khalke, not far from Constantinople, the other at Jerusalem. Unfortunately, both resemble more the Roman Catholic seminaries of France, Belgium, and Italy, than the Protestant schools of Germany. These two seminaries, likewise, are chiefly intended for the education of the higher clergy, and in one respect the Church in Turkey has even gone ahead of that of Greece, as an ecclesiastical canon expressly provides that for obtaining the office of a bishop it is indispensably necessary to have studied in one of the seminaries, or, at least, to have as good knowledge of theology as the graduates of the seminaries. For the lower clergy neither the Church of Turkey nor that of Greece has as yet made sufficient provision. The former is only now meditating to establish for this purpose ecclesiastical seminaries wherever it is practicable. The Church of Greece is already in possession of a few, but as yet very little has been accomplished by them. The earliest of these schools was the "Ecclesiastical Rizarrian School" at Athens, so called because its foundation is due to the liberality of the brothers Rizaris. This seminary was followed by three other "sacerdotal seminaries," (Ἱερατικαὶ Σχολαί,) one upon the continent of Greece, in Khalkis, one for the Peloponnesus, in Tripolis, a third for the islands, in Hermopolis, upon the island of Syra, to which more recently one has been added upon the island of Corfu—all erected and supported at the expense of the Government. All of them resemble the Roman Catholic seminaries of the Middle Ages, which have also been taken as models in Russia. The best among these seminaries, the Rizarrian school, has recently received considerable improvement, for which it is chiefly indebted to the indefatigable zeal of its present director, the learned Archimandrite Socrates Koliatzos, who several years ago made a journey through western Europe, especially Germany, in order to make himself thoroughly familiar with the condition of the theological schools. It must, however, be admitted that, in spite of all these efforts, a notable improvement of the scholarship of the lower clergy has not yet taken place. The number of pupils of the theological schools who actually enter the priesthood is still very small. The principal reason for this must be found in the lamentable financial situation of the lower clergy. For the higher clergy the Government provides fixed salaries: for an archbishop, about 300 marks (1 mark—23.8 cents) a month; for a bishop, 250 marks; for an itinerant minister, 150 to 160 marks—sums which are small enough, if compared with the revenues of the bishops of other European countries, but which are, nevertheless, sufficient to make their financial position tolerable. But no provision has on the part of the State Government been made for the lower clergy, who wholly depend on the fees received for their ecclesiastical functions. As these are utterly insufficient for the support of a family, (in the Church of Greece the habit prevails to appoint only married clergymen as parish priests,) the priests are compelled to carry on some business in addition to their cler-

ical office. In most cases this is agriculture. The pupils of the sacerdotal seminaries show, therefore, a great inclination to prefer to the thorny office of priest another career which promises them a more comfortable and more profitable position in life. The lower clergy has, therefore, to a large extent to recruit itself from the ignorant classes of the people. Their ignorance is, however, at present much more dangerous to the Church than it was formerly. Even the small amount of learning which the priests possessed formerly, and which was generally limited to Bible history, the catechism, and the study of the liturgical functions, sufficed for the modest claims of their congregations. Now anti-ecclesiastical, and, in general, anti-christian and irreligious doctrines have been widely disseminated throughout the land by the many young Greeks who have been educated in western Europe, and against these influences an ignorant clergy is entirely powerless. Infidelity threatens, therefore, to undermine the whole basis of the Church, if the Church does not succeed in obtaining the services of a thoroughly educated clergy. More fortunate the Church of Greece has been reviving theological scholarship in her midst. A large number of young men have been sent to Germany to study at the Protestant universities; and these students now occupy several episcopal sees, and almost all the professorships of the Rizarrian school, and of the two theological schools in Turkey. They have not only fostered the study of theological science, but have also advocated the introduction into the Greek Church of such institutions of the German Protestant Churches as appear to be compatible with the character of the Greek Church. Thanks to this influence of German Protestantism, the Church of Greece already possesses an interesting theological literature. The oldest professor of theology at the University of Athens, Dr. Constantinus Kontogenes, is the editor of an excellent theological journal entitled the "Evangelical Preacher, (Εὐαγγελικὸς κήρυξ,) and has published an outline of Hebrew Archæology, an Outline of an Introduction into the Old and New Testaments, a Patrology, (in two volumes,) and a Manual of Church History, of which thus far only the first volume has appeared. To the late Dr. Panagiotes Pempotes, professor of theology and court-pastor of the Queen of Greece, the Church is indebted for manuals of the Biblical History of the Old and New Testaments, of Dogmatic Theology, of Ethics, and of Liturgies, all of which exhibit a great depth of thought and lucid arrangement. Of the younger theological professors of the University of Athens, one, Dr. Nicholas Damala, has begun a very thorough work on the literature of the Greek Church relative to the New Testament; while another, Dr. Anastasius D. Kyriakos, has published a very valuable compendium of Church history. A work on the Church law of the Church of Greece has been published by John Papalukas Eutaxias. Another work by a Greek theologian, the first complete edition of the Epistles of Clement of Rome by Dr. Philotheus Bryennius, now Metropolitan of Serres, (in Macedonia,) made last year a sensation in the theological circles of all Christian countries, and has already been noticed in the Methodist Quarterly Review.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

A NEW "Bible Work for the People" (*Bibelwerk fur die Gemeinde*, Leips., 1876) has been begun by Professor R. F. Grau, who has already made himself known by several works as a theologian of the strictly orthodox school. As its title indicates, it is especially written for non-theologians. The New Testament will be completed in two volumes. It contains, besides the revised Lutheran translation, a twofold series of explanations, namely: 1. A series of notes on the language and the sense of the text; and, 2. A free reproduction of the contents in a language adapted to the understanding of the people.

Professor J. Bachmann has published the first volume of a comprehensive work on the life and writings of Dr. Hengstenberg, (Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, Guterslohe, 1876.) Another theological biography is a life of the late Professor G. F. Oehler by Jos. Knapp, (Tübingen, 1876.) Professor Oehler was a prominent theologian of the kingdom of Wurtemberg. His two principal works, a theology of the Old Testament and a manual of symbolic theology, (a comparison of the doctrinal systems of the principal divisions of Christendom,) were published after his death, the latter by Professor Joh. Delitzsch. Professor Delitzsch also died before the work was issued, and the revision of the work was completed by Professor Franz Delitzsch, the father of the reviser.

An Introduction to the Old and New Testament, by Dr. Kaulen, (*Einleitung in die heil. Schrift Alten u. Neuen Testamentes*, Freiburg, 1876,) is recommended, even in the journals of Protestant theology, as one of the best recent publications of Roman Catholic theology. The same praise had been bestowed upon a former work of the author, on the history of the Vulgate, which appeared in 1868. His present work constitutes volume ix of the *Theologische Bibliothek*, published by the well known Catholic publishing house of Herder in Freiburg.

A work published under the title *Nach Rechts und nach Links*, (Towards the Right and Towards the Left, Leips., 1876,) by one of the oldest and most prominent theologians of Protestant Switzerland, Alexander Schweizer, Professor in Zurich, gives interesting information on the theological controversies of the last thirty years.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Philosophy of Trinitarian Doctrine: A Contribution to Theological Progress and Reform. By Rev. A. G. PEASE, Rutland, Vt. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

Mr. Pease is a Congregational clergyman, who, being exiled from the pulpit by years of ill health, has taken refuge in his study, and the present he describes as the first-fruits of his studious labors. He is a subtle, though sometimes fanciful, thinker, and a graceful writer. He is not "orthodox" according to the Edwardian standard; he is a free thinker within the sympathy of the Evangelic Church. He seems rather Arminian, we might say Coleridgian, than Calvinistic; and on the Trinity his doctrine would, perhaps, square more nearly with the personal views of Athanasius himself than with the utterances of the so-called Athanasian creed.

He holds the doctrine—the doctrine of Arminius, John Wesley, and Richard Watson—of the co-eternity, co-divinity, consubstantiality, but not co-equality of the Son to the Father. The Son is divine by an eternally derived divinity. The son is the eternal divine Son of an eternally producing Father. And he truly shows this to have been the doctrine of Athanasius himself; but if we rightly apprehend him, he supposes that this doctrine is lost at the present day, and that now, as formerly, Athanasius is "Athanasius contra Mundum." And in one or two respects this, perhaps, is true.

In the days of early Christianity, and earlier, it was a great problem: *How can the Infinite produce the finite?* Between cause and effect there must be a congruity; but nothing is more incongruous, more out of possible community with each other, than the Infinite and the finite. The separating abyss is itself infinite, and cannot be crossed by any wing, or spanned by any bridge. The same impossibility is asserted in our own day among skeptical philosophists, and is at the bottom of their denial of the possibility of creation, rejection of theism, and outcries about anthropomorphism. The true infinity of this separating abyss became more and more perceptible to the Hebrew mind after the captivity in the vast plains and under the clear skies of Babylon, enlarged its conceptions of the true vastness of infinity, and enabled it to feel what it meant when it called God *omnipresent.* Then the very *Name* of God became so solemn that the true vowels of the word Jehovah were lost in perpetual silence. It was then that the conception of the Logos gradually came into thought.

This conception culminated among the cultured and philosophic Jews of Alexandria, by whom the problem, if not the solution, was bequeathed to the Neo-Platonists of the second and third centuries. It culminates most specifically in the writings of Philo. This conception it is which St. John, in the first chapter of his Gospel, appropriates and defines to Christian use, by applying the term Logos to Christ, and then throughout his Gospel picturing Christ as Logos. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, evidently a reader of Philo, in his first chapter, prefers the term Son, but presents simply a varying phase of St. John's doctrine.

The true successor on this point of St. John, and of the writer of Hebrews, is Athanasius. It was his view that Christ, the eternal son, solved the great problem, and bridged the infinite abyss. A congruity, effective of causation, was established by him between the Infinite and the finite. Creation had its pathway opened, and a universe was possible. Athanasius then saw that the Son must not be, like that universe, a created thing. He must be a middle term between the Infinite and the creation. Says Neander, (quoted by Mr. Pease,) "If we consider the connection of thought and ideas in the doctrinal system of this father, we shall doubtless be led to see, that, in contending for the Homo-ousion, he by no means contended for a mere speculative formula, standing in no manner of connection with what constitutes the essence of Christianity; that, in this controversy, it was by no means a barely dialectic or speculative interest that actuated him, but in reality an essentially Christian interest. On the holding fast to the Homo-ousion depended, in his view, the whole unity of the Christian consciousness of God, the completeness of the revelation of God in Christ, the reality of the redemption which Christ wrought, and of the communion with God restored by him to man. 'If Christ,' so argued Athanasius against the Arian doctrine, 'differed from other creatures simply as being the only creature immediately produced by God, then he could not bring the creature into fellowship with God, since we must be constrained to conceive of something still intermediate between him, as a creature, and the divine essence which differed from him, something whereby *he* might stand in communion with God; and this intermediate being would be precisely the Son of God in the proper sense. In analyzing the conception of God communicated to the creature, it would be necessary to arrive at the conception of *that which requires nothing intermediate in order to communion with God; which does not participate in God's essence as something foreign from itself, but which is itself the self-*

communicating essence of God. This is the only Son of God, the only being who can be so called in the proper sense. The expressions Son of God and divine generation are of a symbolical nature, and denote simply the communication of the divine essence."—P. 35.

Mr. Pease prosecutes this doctrine to results which he does not attribute to Athanasius, and yet we suspect are truly Athanasian. If the Son be the middle term between God and creature, then the Son is the conduit of life from God to man. And then God, the Son, and man form what he calls a vital "organism." The life of God is in the Son, the life of the Son is in, or rather, *is* the spirit of man. Hence says Christ, "As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, even so he that eateth me shall live by me." "Because I live ye shall live also." "He that believeth on me shall never die." Mr. Pease, assuming that these phrases of life and death, scattered through the Gospel of John, refer to the conscious life and death of the spirit, attains the conclusion of "conditional immortality." Christ is the vine, and we are the branches, and separate from the vitality of the vine the branch perishes. Hence the doctrine not so much of annihilation as of cessation. The being perishes by the limitations of his own nature. Thus read, the Gospel of John bears a new aspect. But Mr. P. is aware that an exegetical battle is necessary over the meaning of the words life, death, perish, before this reading is established.

Whether Athanasius really held the doctrine of "conditional immortality," and whether he attained it by the same route as above described, Mr. P., who claims to have studied that author, doubtless knows better than we. But Mr. Hudson, in his scholarly work, "Debt and Grace," furnishes a remarkable extract from that illustrious father, which sounds very much like it.

On the doctrine of Original Sin the writer appears to be Coleridgian. The following extract from Coleridge is so related to the discussions of the hour that we present it to our readers:—

"We have the assurance of Bishop Horsley that the Church of England does not demand the literal understanding of the document in the second (from verse 8) and third chapters of Genesis as a point of faith, or regard a different interpretation as affecting the orthodoxy of the interpreter; divines of the most unexceptionable orthodoxy, and the most averse to the allegorizing of Scripture history in general, having adopted or permitted it in this instance.

"And, indeed, no unprejudiced man can pretend to doubt that if in any work of eastern origin he met with trees of life and of knowledge, or talking and conversable snakes, he would want no other proof that it was an allegory he was reading, and intended to be understood as such. . . . It cannot be denied that the Mosaic narrative thus interpreted gives a just and faithful exposition of the birth and parentage and successive moments of phenomenal sin, that is, of sin as it reveals itself in time and as an immediate object of consciousness. And in this sense most truly does the apostle assert that in Adam we all fall. *The first human sinner is the adequate representative of all his successors.* And, with no less truth may it be said that it is the same Adam that falls in every man, and from the same reluctance to abandon the too dear and undivorceable Eve, and the same Eve tempted by the same serpentine and perverted understanding which, formed originally to be the interpreter of the reason and the ministering angel of the spirit, is henceforth sentenced and bound over to the service of the animal nature, its needs and its cravings, dependent on the senses for all its materials, with the world of sense for its appointed sphere: *Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.* I have elsewhere shown that as the instinct of the mere intelligence differs in degree, not in kind and circumstantially, not essentially, from the *vis vitæ*, or vital power in the assimilative and digestive functions of the stomach, and other organs of nutrition, even so the understanding in itself, and distinct from the reason and conscience, differs in degree only from the instinct of the animal. It is still but *a beast of the field*, though more subtle than any beast of the field, and therefore, in its corruption and perversion, *cursed above any*, a pregnant word," etc., etc.

The Book of Psalms. A New Translation, with Introduction and Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Canon of Llandaff. From the third London edition. 8vo., 2 vols., pp. 534. Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1876.

Two noble commentaries of the Psalms have recently been issued from the Andover press: that of Murphy, briefly noticed in a former Quarterly, and this of Perowne. Valuable as the former of the two is, the present work is the more elaborate and complete. Both are the results of thorough scholarship, are written in the style of attractive literature, and are carefully adapted to the wants of the merely English reader and the critical Hebrew scholar. With an express view to this double end, Dr. Perowne places

his philological discussions at the end of the Psalm, while the running notes, which are clear, spirited, and copious, are enjoyable by the reader who has never nibbled a Hebrew root.

Dr. Perowne's Introductions at the commencement of the work are fresh and rich. The topics are: David and the Lyric Poetry of the Hebrews; The Use of the Psalter in the Church and by Individuals; The Theology of the Psalms; The Position, Names, Division, and probable Origin and Formation of the Psalter, and the Inscriptions of the Psalms. The Psalms are lined in poetic form.

It was the rare lot of David the King to be first chorister of the Jewish and Christian Church through thousands of years. He is pre-eminently the Psalmist, often giving name to the whole collection. He had followers who were largely his imitators, though none his equals, in the psalm book of Israel. And his psalm book, more than any other book, has united the Jewish and Christian Church in one spirit, flowing down through the hearts and voices of the people of God in successive generations. Those emotions of the human spirit that belong especially to the region of the spirit are so deeply and truly expressed, that, as Athanasius says, a man "reads as if they were his own words, and he who hears them is pricked at the heart, as if he had said them himself." "Nowhere," says Luther, "will you find more happily or more significantly expressed the feelings of a soul full of joy and exultation, than in the Psalms of thanksgiving, or Psalms of praises. For there you may look into the hearts of the saints, as you would into paradise or into the open heaven, and note with what wonderful variety there spring up here and there the beautiful blossoms, and the most brilliant stars of the sweetest affections toward God and his benefits. On the other hand, nowhere will you find described in more expressive words, mental distress, pain, and grief of soul, than in the Psalms of temptations or lamentations, as in the sixth Psalm, and others like it. There death itself, hell itself, you see painted in their proper colors; there you see all black, all gloomy, in view of the divine anger and despair. So likewise when the Psalms speak of hope or of fear, they so describe these feelings in their own native words, that no Demosthenes, no Cicero, could express them more to the life or more happily."

From the Jewish Church the Christian Church learned to sing, and David is here still our king. Reverently to him, we call our efforts not *psalms*, but *hymns*. We have shaped the hymn to an

exacter rhythm and rhyme; we have invented instruments of great power; new ages and new institutions have added great new themes; but still we go back with ever new delight to the fountain of David. Here is no imitation, but inspiration itself. No wonder that the best talent and richest learning of the Church should rejoice in the work of giving to the world fresh editions of the old anthology to bring its original power to bear on the public mind of our own day.

The chapter on the theology of the Psalms embraces, among other points, the Messianic and the Imprecatory Psalms. There is in the Psalms a king higher than any earthly king; there is a just man more perfect than any human just man; there is a prophetic sufferer who endures agonies as a representative of Israel: these are not in the Psalms united in a single individual, and they remain a problem until Christ comes and unites them all in himself. Yet Dr. Perowne denies that each entire Psalm is Messianic. It is only in the superhuman traits in the human individual subject that the Messiah is shadowed. Hence he denies that the Psalmist's confessions of sin are Messianic, and justifies his denial on the unsuitableness of such confession to the sinless one, and especially upon the fact that such passages are never applied to Christ in the New Testament. The solution that some have given, namely, that these confessions are attributed to Christ, not personally, but as the representative of sinners, he peremptorily rejects. Upon the Imprecatory Psalms there is, we think, a right interpretation which he does not give. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord;" and if there be an inspired personator of divine justice, would not his Psalms be imprecatory? Is it not the wrath of the Lamb that says, "Depart, ye cursed?" Is there not a deep truth roughly expressed by Henry Ward Beecher when he said, "I go as heartily with David when he curses and swears, as I do when he prays?" Some years since Professor Park furnished in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" an article showing how the voice of modern civilization, condemning the barbarous war of the Sepoys against England in India, was expressed in the imprecations of David.

And even while we are writing, England and Europe are turning with disgust from the political apologies made by Disraeli for the cruelties of Turkey toward her Christian subjects, and demanding the expulsion of the Turk from the soil of Europe. David represented in a dark period the cause of a pure theism, the hope of a Messiah, in whom rested the future civilization of the world and the redemption of the race. His enemies were the obstacles

of advancement, the sons of darkness, the real foes of God and man. And even in the New Testament the picture of the Messiah riding forth to conquer the world (which we view as symbolizing the same battle of Christian civilization through the Christian ages) has strokes of equally vindictive severity. (Rev. xix, 11-21.) Terrible is the hostility of goodness against badness; and terribly does it become avenged under the government of Jehovah.

We have from Dr. Perowne a few paragraphs on the use of the divine names, Jehovah and Elohim, upon which theorists have built their systems, dividing the Psalms into Jehovistic and Elohistic, and assigning them in accordance to different ages and sources. Dr. Perowne says: "No probable explanation of this phenomenon has yet been given." Does it, in fact, need any explanation? Suppose some critic should take the Methodist Hymn Book and separate the hymns that speak of Jesus from those that speak of Christ and from those that speak of God, and classify them into Jesusistic, Christistic, and Godistic, would the "phenomena" need any "explanation?" We apprehend that all the "phenomena" would be found requisite for constructing just as plausible theories as ever came from an Ewald or a Colenso, based on the use of Hebrew divine names in the Old Testament.

We see no valid reason for conceding the existence of Maccabean Psalms. That the canon was closed with the close of the prophetic period, when Malachi uttered its last syllable, is the ancient and true ground. All attempts to invalidate that great signal fact in which the Jewish Church, the New Testament, and the early Christian Church so well agree, we promptly discard as neology and pseudo-criticism.

The Epistle to the Romans in Greek: in which the Text of Robert Stephens, third edition, is compared with the Texts of the Elzevirs, Lachmann, Alford, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Westcott, and with the chief Uncial and Cursive Manuscripts; together with References to the New Testament Grammars of Winer & Buttmann. By HENRY A. BUTTZ, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Drew Theological Seminary. 8vo., pp. 42. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

This, the first-fruits of Prof. Buttz's scholarly labors in New Testament Greek, is also the first production of a Greek text from either of our three leading theological seminaries, and the first specimen of a Greek book ever, we believe, issued from a Methodist press in England or America. It is a noble, if not a very large, commencement.

Its ample title-page explains its character. It intends to furnish a method and a means for laying a thorough foundation in original

New Testament study. This will, indeed, be sought only by the few even of our well-read ministry; but that few are to be warmly valued in their place, and supplied with every facility for prosecuting their studies to perfection. The immediate purpose of the work is to supply a class-book for the seminary. And, if it prove an encouraging success, the entire New Testament, in some similar form, will be carried to completion and issued from our Book Rooms.

We trust in the accuracy of the Professor's eyes as a proof-reader, and so believe in the perfect accuracy of the text. The type is clear and strong, but not sufficiently new. As a first attempt it is, we believe, creditable and hopeful; but it will not yet quite stand comparison with the Andover issues. Warren F. Draper's Greek and Hebrew cannot be surpassed, because they are about perfect. But, if our press prosecutes the work, our publishers expect to surpass all but the unsurpassable.

The Life and Writings of St. John. By JAMES M. M'DONALD, D.D., Princeton, New Jersey. Edited, with an Introduction, by the Very Reverend J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. 8vo., pp. 436. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

This is a learned and elaborate work, intended to perform the work for St. John which Conybeare and Howson's volumes did for St. Paul. It is very largely a fresh commentary upon the Gospels and a complete commentary upon the writings of the Apostle. The author places the date of the Apocalypse in the time of Nero, and gives an exposition of its visions after a theory of his own. It is finely illustrated with twenty-five maps and cuts. Without indorsing all the author's opinions, we accept his book as a valuable contribution to Christian literature, and as a standard work upon the life, character, and writings of the illustrious subject.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. Vol. vii of the Old Testament, containing Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

This volume completes the Historical Books of the Old Testament, written during the period of the reconstruction of the theocracy, after the return from exile. CHRONICLES is annotated by Dr. Otto Zöckler, and translated, with additional notes, by Dr. Murphy, of Belfast, Ireland, author of Commentaries on Genesis, etc. EZRA is by Dr. Schultz, of Breslau, translated by Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, New York. NEHEMIAH is annotated by Dr. Howard Crosby, Chancellor of the University of New York.

ESTHER, by Dr. Schultz, is translated and edited by Dr. James Strong, of Drew Seminary. Dr. Strong has translated the frequent Latin citations, added the Textual and Grammatical notes, enlarged the list of exegetical helps, and furnished an excursus of the Apocryphal additions to Esther, and another on the liturgical use of the book among the Jews. Dr. Schaff cheerily descries the close of his monumental work. "The remaining three," he tells us, "of the twenty-four volumes of this Commentary are in the hands of the printer, and will be published at short intervals."

The Apologies of Justin Martyr. To which is appended the Epistle to Diognetus. With Introduction and Notes by BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Ph.D., (Gött.,) LL.D., Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. 8vo., pp. 289. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

This is one of the select Douglas Series, which we have repeatedly noticed and welcomed in our Quarterly. The series is judiciously selected and admirably edited. Professor Gildersleeve's Introduction is finely written. The Epistle to Diognetus, though not Justin's, is a favorite with Christian scholars; and we are gratified that the Professor did not "resist the temptation to insert it."

This volume will be followed by the Confessions of Augustine, edited by Prof. Crowell, of Amherst, and by Chrysostom, prepared by Prof. D'Ooge, of Michigan University.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Norse Mythology; or, The Religion of our Forefathers, containing all the Myths of the Eddas, Systematized and Interpreted. With an Introduction, Vocabulary, and Index. By R. B. ANDERSON, A.M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin. Author of "America not Discovered by Columbus," "Den Norske Maalsag," etc. Second Edition. 8vo., pp. 473. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

Professor Anderson is a thorough enthusiast on the subject of Norse Mythology, and claims to have made in this volume the first complete and systematic presentation of it in the English language. He believes in Odin and Thor and the whole Gothic pantheon. He thinks the Norse system grander and nobler than the Greek, though they are "twin-sisters," while the Roman is little more than imitation. Even Shakspeare could accomplish but little until he had broken his "Roman chains" and let loose the spirit of Gothdom which was in him. He holds that in the Eddas are to be found abundant themes for the poet, the painter, and the sculptor, and is rousingly indignant that Teutons shall seek their subjects among the loathsome nudities of Greek art rather than in the pure and chaste Odinic myths. And, truly, here is a broad

field for an original genius whose soul and hand can unite in putting the old Norse Sagas into enduring marble.

A full introduction of a hundred and fifty pages prepares the way for an exhibition of the Norse mythology by a discussion of some questions that naturally arise in the mind of a student. Professor Anderson holds to an original Teutonic mythology, common to all the Teutonic peoples before their migration from South-eastern Russia, which, variously modified by the changed conditions of life in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, France, Germany, and Iceland, lived and flourished until Christianity uprooted and destroyed it every-where except in Norway and Iceland. "It is in Icelandic alone," says Max Müller, "that we find complete remains of genuine Teutonic heathendom. . . . Iceland was discovered, peopled, and civilized by Norsemen in the ninth century; and in the nineteenth the language spoken there is still the dialect of Harold Fairhair, and the stories told there are still the stories of the Edda, or the Venerable Grandmother." That Odin and Balder and Thor must die was a part of the system: the missionaries had only to proclaim that they were dead, to give them the Gospel, and at the same time leave them the grand poetry of their old faith.

The body of the work is in three parts, the first entitled "The Creation and Preservation of the World;" the second, "The Life and Exploits of the Gods;" and the third, "Ragnavok and Regeneration." Here the system is fully unfolded, and illustrated by numerous and full passages of the Eddas.

But, as among the Greeks, so was it with the Norsemen. The nobler souls among them believed in an *unknown God*, whose name they might not speak, and who was the Great Supreme. And an inquirer into the origin of the system will doubtless find that to its originators it was simple poetry in which nature and its forces were personified, and that afterward, God being forgotten, these imagined persons were endued with life and actuality, and became objects of reverence and worship.

Professor Anderson is fully master of his subject, and will prove a most pleasant companion and guide to those who will consult his pages.

Principia of Political Science. Upon a Reverent, Moral, Liberal and Progressive Foundation. By R. J. WRIGHT, Professor of Ethics, Metaphysics, and Church History in the Christian Biblical Institute. Third Edition, Revised. 8vo., pp. 432. Published and sold by R. J. Wright, Tacony, Philadelphia. 1876.

The author of this thoughtful work was led by the events of the recent rebellion to a searching and extended study of political and

social questions, resulting in the projection of a series of volumes, of which this is the first. It is, we believe, the first attempt at a broad scheme of Social Science based upon truly American and Christian principles. While it is not at all likely that the plan here laid open will ever be adopted, except, perhaps, on a very limited scale, there are given many important suggestions which ought to have great weight with thinkers of all classes. It is certainly an advance to take the science out of the hands of infidels, professional politicians, and mere physical scientists, and to insist that any true exposition must base it upon a foundation which is metaphysical and moral, as well as physical and secular. In essential characteristics, therefore, Mr. Wright differs from Comte, Carey, Paley, Spencer, and Mill, while Fourier's ideal is impracticable. He also differs from all previous writers in his theory of the Six Units, namely, that human society, and, therefore, Social Science, consists of six fundamental elements, or Units—Individual, Family, Social Circle, Precinct, Nation, and Mankind. The problem is to so order and harmonize these units in their relations one to another, that the greatest prosperity and happiness of each and all shall be secured. The four Books, entitled respectively Introduction, Precinct, Nation, and Corporation, constitute an elaborate discussion, with much valuable information, rendering the volume an important contribution to political philosophy.

The Geographical Distribution of Animals. With a Study of the Relations of Living and Extinct Faunas, as elucidating the past changes of the Earth's Surface. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, author of "The Malay Archipelago," etc. In two volumes. With Maps and Illustrations. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

To Mr. Wallace belongs the honor of having anticipated the fundamental principle of Darwinism, and some have claimed that to him rather belongs the main honor. But with genuine modesty he defers to his superior, and speaks with a tone of almost *allegiance* to the man who has given the idea of genetic evolution an almost epochal importance. If these two stately volumes shall be able to bear a similar relation to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species," as Mr. Darwin's "Animals and Plants under Domestication" does to the first chapter of that work, his highest ambition is satisfied. Both are men of genius in earnest pursuit of scientific truth, both are men of pure moral character, and both write in a style of transparent and fascinating simplicity. To Mr. Wallace belongs the honor of not being cheated by his science out of his religion, or daunted by association from a free and bold assertion of his unshaken faith in God.

The volumes present us with a distinct step of advancing science. Zoology has heretofore ranged over the animal forms that meets our eye upon the earth's surface, has analyzed their peculiarities, and made attempts at classification. It has made us acquainted with existing animal life. Paleontology has dug into the earth's surface to find what has existed in past ages, and has exhumed a wonderful variety, a rapidly increasing variety, of related primordial forms. Uniting the results of these two fields of investigation, we attain a new completeness of zoological science. With more or less confidence we pronounce upon the great genera. We find the geological starting-point where a given genus commences existence, and trace a rude biography. We trace, with some distinctness, how and where it grew; we note its means of spreading over the surface of the earth of its time; we ascertain the extent of its prevalence, the greatness of its predominance, and its present prospect of prosperity and power. We look at an individual dog and think how surely he is descended by a long pedigree of *canidæ* from a far-gone geological age. If antiquity is nobility, he is the aristocrat, and man the plebeian.

The volumes are regal in size, type, and illustrations. The maps and pictures are beautiful, and richly suggestive.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Mikado's Empire. Book I. History of Japan, from 660 B. C. to 1872. A. D. Book II. Personal Experiences, Observations, and Studies in Japan, 1870–1874. By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, A.M., Late of the Imperial University of Tokio, Japan. Crown 8vo., pp. 625. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Did Professor Griffis, in this magnificent volume, only lay open to the world the history of the old Japan which, for ages, had so persistently shut itself in from the knowledge of mankind, he would have made an important contribution to literature, and won for himself a lasting honor as well. But the new Japan that has shaken off the burdensome yoke of centuries, and is struggling to build itself up in the freer, grander life of the Western civilization, is doubtless the more interesting to us, partly because of the Asiatic peoples she is our nearest neighbor, yet chiefly because of our instinctive sympathy with every genuine effort of men or nations to improve their condition. Professor Griffis has had ample opportunity for the research and observation requisite for accurate delineation and statement. For six years he was in constant intercourse with intelligent Japanese. The present Japanese Minister at Washington, and also the President of the Imperial

University of Japan, were among his pupils at New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was the organizer of the Scientific School at Fukui, at the end of a year was transferred to the Imperial College at Tokio, and for three years and a half was in constant intercourse with the most cultivated and scholarly men of the nation. The old feudalism was in full force when he went to the country, so that he was a witness of the mighty changes accomplished by the revolution.

Japan is no longer a *terra incognita.* Our geographers have hitherto misled us in giving to the main island the name of the empire. "Dai Nippon, or Nihon, means Great Japan," and is the name given by the natives to the entire empire; while the name of the largest island is Hondo, and not "Niphon," as most foreign writers give it. Upon its 150,000 square miles, two thirds of which is mountain land, dwell 33,000,000 of people, whose real character has, until recently, been almost unknown. Even Commodore Perry, in 1853, was cheated into treating with the general of the mikado, believing him to be the emperor himself; but he never saw "the august sovereign of Japan," any more than the mikado ever saw the presents sent him by the United States. The two emperors, one spiritual and the other secular, were a fiction. "There never was but one emperor in Japan," says Professor Griffis; "the shogun was a military usurper, and the bombastic title 'tycoon' a diplomatic fraud."

Japanese history has its twilight of fable, yet the historic period proper is of twenty-five centuries' duration. Shintoism, the ancient national religion, differs not much from the ante-Confucian Chinese. "Its principles, as summed up by the Department of Religion, and promulgated throughout the empire so late as 1872, are expressed in the following commandments: '1. Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country. 2. Thou shalt clearly understand the principles of Heaven and the duty of man. 3. Thou shalt revere the mikado as thy sovereign, and obey the will of his court.'" It became corrupted by Buddhism and Chinese philosophy, and largely supplanted by the former, but the reformers of the day are attempting to restore it in its original purity. This ancient paganism which made the mikado the descendant and representative of the gods, is seeking a union with the revolution which has proved him a man. It cannot succeed. New Japan must become Christian or fail. Not with such Christianity, however, as was introduced into the country by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century, leaving no trace of good influence upon the

moral life of the people, and is to-day every-where at war with the principles of the nineteenth century.

Our author very carefully exhibits the influences which led to the revolution whereby the mikado was brought out from the seclusion of centuries and made the real sovereign of the nation. The ancient feudalism was suddenly broken down, and an entirely new system inaugurated. What the outcome will be is as yet an unsolved problem, yet the fact that three millions of the population are in school is full of promise. The whole of this story of the mikado's labors to perform his oath, voluntarily made in 1868, that "intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the empire," is very full of interest, as is, indeed, the entire volume.

Memorials of the Wesley Family. Including Biographical and Historical Sketches of all the Members of the Family for Two Hundred and Fifty Years; together with a Genealogical Table of the Wesleys, with Historical Notes, for more than Nine Hundred Years. By GEORGE J. STEVENSON, author of the "Methodist Hymn Book and its Associations," "City Road Chapel and its Associations," "Sketch of the Life and Ministry of C. H. Spurgeon," "The Origin of Alphabetical Characters," etc. 8vo., pp. 550. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Doubtless the reader of the three goodly octavos of the Rev. L. Tyerman's "Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists," said, or thought, as he closed the last volume, "This is all; nothing more can be written about the Wesleys." But lo! here comes another goodly octavo, plethoric with matter, much of which will be new even to the readers of Tyerman. The author tells us how he came into possession of the materials which form the basis of his work. By the last will of John Wesley all the letters and papers relating to his family were left in the custody of Rev. Henry Moore, who kept them safely till his death, in 1844, but made no use of them, and, perhaps, never even examined them. Mr. Moore's executor placed the papers in the hands of Mr. Stevenson, and the richness of the materials therein contained, and the recent discovery of other letters and documents connected with the Wesleys, impelled him to undertake a biographical sketch of every member of the Epworth family.

It seems that the Wesleys were what would be called, even in England, an old family. Almost a thousand years ago (A. D. 938) there was a Guy of Welswe, in Somerset, who was made a thane, or baron, by Athelstan, a Saxon king of England. The family name assumes various forms as the history proceeds: Welswe, Welswey, Westley, Wellesley, Wesley, and Westleigh.

The genealogical table exhibits a formidable array of titles and dignitaries, civic, military, and ecclesiastic.

The biographies proper begin with the Rev. Bartholomew Wesley, who was born about the year 1595, and died in 1680. He was rector of Catherton, Dorsetshire, in 1640, with a parsonage, four acres of land, and the tithes of the parish, the whole income being worth £13 10s. To this was afterward added the "living" of Charmouth, two miles distant, which added £22 to his stipend. But he lived in troublous times. The Puritans, under Cromwell, overthrew the monarchy, and established a republic, which lasted eleven years, and then monarchy was restored. With the restoration came new laws, establishing High Church prelacy, and binding Church and State in closest alliance. In 1662, an Act of Uniformity made it unlawful for any man to receive or hold any ecclesiastical office unless he had been ordained by a Bishop, assented to every thing in the Church prayer book, and believed in the divine right of kings. Bartholomew Wesley was one of the two thousand clergymen who at once abandoned their churches and parsonages rather than submit.

His son, John Wesley, the grandfather of the founder of Methodism, was born in 1636, and died in 1678. He was educated at Oxford, entered the ministry, and in 1658 became vicar of Winterborn—Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire. Unlike his father, when the Act of Uniformity was passed, he quietly submitted, and yet fell into disrepute among the clericals of his times, because of the "irregular" methods of labor into which he was led by his zeal for the salvation of souls.

His son was Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth, the father of a still more famous son, whose name is now familiar to the world. Biographies, more or less extended, are given of the various members of the Epworth family. Samuel Wesley, his wife Susanna, their seventeen children, and six grand-children. The Wesleys seem to have been all very decided characters, and their historian does them justice. The work is well written, clear, candid, truthful, free from the vice of over-laudation, and equally free from the opposite vice, the peculiar blindness which sees nothing in the sun save the spots. In the department of literature to which it belongs, the book is one of the best.

The Chinese in America. By Rev. O. GIBSON, A. M. 12mo., pp. 405. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

We, Caucasians, have a vast deal of trouble with the "inferior races," races "guilty of a skin not colored like our own," but

which persist in carrying a black, a red, or a yellow visage, much to our disgust and contempt. We punish the black-face by kidnapping, enslaving, and robbing him of his earnings; we punish the red-skin by breaking treaties, driving him from his lands, and administering butchery; we punish the yellow-skin by first compelling him to admit our incursions into his territories, and then maltreating him because he comes into ours.

The yellow race in our country has found a very worthy patron and defender in Mr. Gibson. His head and heart are nobly consecrated to his work, and he has found it very easy to furnish a very interesting and valuable book on the Chinese and the Chinese question. His enthusiasm for his clients does not prevent his delineating them in duly discriminating colors. And then the ease with which he exposes the villainy with which the Chinese have been treated, the slanders with which they have been assailed, and the preposterousness of the panic which fools and knaves have tried to raise about the danger of their immigration, is all very edifying and instructive. The real source of all this tumult is the jealousy of the Irish papists, led on by their priests, and aided by demagogues especially of that political party whose tool and master at once the Irishry are.

We came near saying in our first sentence of this notice that "we" *Christian* Caucasians are the inflicters of these wrongs on this "inferior race." But Mr. Gibson's book furnishes us the fact that the true Christians are the true friends of poor Chinaman. When set upon by the mobs and mobocrats of San Francisco, Chinaman has learned by experience that his true friend is the "Jesus man." When a base city government passes oppressive enactments, he hurries for counsel to the "Jesus man." When a hapless woman flees from the house of prostitution into which she has been entrapped, she calls loudly and persistently for a "Jesus man." When a Jesuit priest delivers a violent harangue against these pagans, pagans learn with grateful surprise that the "Jesus man" has furnished a sweeping exposure of Jesuit falsehood, and beg the "privilege" of paying for the publication of an edition. The issue of this work is a favor to both races. What possible excuse is there for the falsehood, the cruelty, and the panic in regard to this race, when it is clearly shown that the whole immigration does not amount to more than about one hundred and fifty thousand?

Mr. Gibson shows that the Chinamen have been a great advantage to the Pacific coast. Without them the great national work,

the Pacific Railroad, could not have been built. They have created many industries, which but for them would have had no existence. We confess, too, that our own sympathies are with our own housewives. When florid-faced Bridget overrides our faithful housekeepers with her captious arrogance, and dusky Dinah becomes too lazy or proud to go "out to work," we know no reason why Chinaman has not a right to step in.

The First Century of the Republic; a Review of American Progress. 8vo., pp. 506. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

This volume consists of seventeen essays by as many authors, each of whom is an expert in the field which he traverses. As the title indicates, the aim of the work is to show what the American people have accomplished during the first century of their history as an independent nation. Our institutions rest upon two great principles, one of which had little support in historic precedents, and the other was almost an absolute novelty. These two principles are, First: That government is safest in the hands of the people, the masses, whose will should dictate its form, shape the legislation, and secure the enforcement of the laws. Secondly: That the Church and the State should be totally separated. These two constitute the basis of the boldest achievement ever deliberately and of set purpose tried. As the new nation began its first century, many a bird of ill omen flew between us and the sun, croaking dismally of failure. The apologists of hereditary rule predicted universal anarchy and confusion. The advocates of State Churches charged us with a neglect of religion, and mourned over a nation destined speedily to become irreligious, if not wholly atheistic.

It is but justice to ourselves and to the world that the results of our great experiment be set forth. This is well done in this goodly volume. The topics discussed are Colonial Progress, by Eugene Lawrence; Mechanical Progress, by E. H. Knight; Manufactures, Hon. D. N. Wells; Agriculture, Prof. W. H. Brewer; Mineral Resources, Prof. T. S. Hunt; Commerce, E. Atkinson; Growth of Population, Hon. F. A. Walker; Monetary Development, Prof. W. G. Sumner; Union, T. D. Woolsey, D.D.; Education, Eugene Lawrence; The Exact Sciences, F. A. P. Barnard, D.D.; Natural Science, Prof. T. Gill; Literature, E. P. Whipple; Fine Arts, S. S. Conant; Medicine, A. Flint, M.D.; Jurisprudence, B. V. Abbott; Humanitarian Progress, C. L. Brace; Religion, J. F. Hurst, D.D.

Under these heads every thing bearing on the progress of a people finds somewhere a place. The summing up of the century is very gratifying to an American. We are glad that this work has been written, and by able hands, writers whose established reputation guarantees the accuracy of the statements which they make. Charged as we were with venturing upon a dangerous experiment, and even if dangers still threaten our future, our past is entitled to this vindication. Let every American read it for the strengthening of his political faith, and for its rich stores of varied information.

Viking Tales of the North. The Sagas of Thorstein, Viking's Son, and Fridthjof the Bold. Translated from the Icelandic. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON, A.M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin, and Honorary Member of the Icelandic Literary Society, and Jón Bjarnason. Also, Tegnér's Fridthjof's Saga. Translated into English. By GEORGE STEPHENS. 12mo., pp. 307. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

Professor Anderson's excellent work on the Norse Mythology is very appropriately followed by this volume of saga-translations, thus giving us a few complete illustrations of the system which in the former is so fully stated and interpreted. American readers have hitherto been dependent upon European publishers for this kind of literature, but the issue of this volume by an enterprising Chicago house marks the inauguration of a new era.

The Saga is properly a narrative prose composition in popular and colloquial form as it would be recited and handed down from grandsire to grandson. Some of them are strictly historical, while others of an older date have grown in the telling, as modern stories often do, and taken on a semi-mythical form, and others are purely fabulous. Yet even these last are found to present great truths of the Norse religion, the divine expressing itself in human thoughts and acts, and the human in aspirations and struggling for the divine.

The Saga of Thorstein Vikingsson belongs to the fictitious class, and is doubtless true to Icelandic medieval thought and feeling. The Saga of Fridthjof the Bold is a semi-mythological story, supposed to be based on some popular tradition. Its chief characters are descendants of personages who appear in Thorstein's Saga, to which it is, therefore, in a certain sense a sequel. It belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century. These two sagas are held to be among the best of their literature. The reader is introduced into a new world of thought and feeling, but with the aid of an ample Glossary he soon comes to be very much at home.

The Fridthjof's Saga by Bishop Tegnér, the celebrated Swedish

poet, draws its materials from the sagas above mentioned, which Professor Anderson would have us regard as two introductory chapters to "this gem," as he characterizes it, "among modern poetical productions." Of the eighteen or twenty English versions of it, its author pronounced that of Professor Stephens to have been the most successful in reproducing the fundamental spirit of the original. It is worthy of the wonderful admiration it has evoked, and in its present form will contribute to enhance the interest now gathering around the Norse literature.

Proceedings of the International Convention for the Amendment of the English Orthography. Held at the Atlas Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., August, 1876. 8vo., pp. 48. Published by the Spelling Reform Association, 15 South Seventh-st., Philadelphia; 13 Tremont Place, Boston; 35 Park Row, New York.

Next to the work of revising the English Bible, no movement is more important or more needed than the revision of our English orthography. When scholars like Professors Whitney, March, and Haldeman are aroused to the work there is some hope of its accomplishment. The same absurd conservatism opposes both revisions. An insensibility to the injury of the existing evils, and of the great benefits of a revision, locks the great mass of even thoughtful men into apathy and ignorance, and very many display an irritability and contempt at the very mention of the topic, which even ignorance cannot excuse.

An alphabet, varying so very little from the present as to make the change not difficult, might be so framed *as to make but one mode of spelling a word possible.* The result would be that instead of requiring a year or so for a child, with the most painful brain labor, to learn our capricious orthography by pure memory, the work might be accomplished in a few weeks far more perfectly than is now done in one's entire life. The expense in our public schools of learning to read would be reduced one half, and thus millions be saved to the country.

Another result would be the easy diffusion of the English language through the world. No language is more simple in its structure, or easier to learn to speak; but an impassable embargo is laid upon its diffusion by its impracticable orthography. A foreigner is obliged to learn how each individual printed word is pronounced, and, in spite of all defiance of rule, to retain it by sheer memory. With an easy revision—easy if there were but the unanimous will—there is no language now spoken which is so fair a candidate for universality as the English.

If our professors and literary men generally desire to vary the

monotony of daily routine with a philanthropic hobby, which may do a great good in the world, the spelling revision is an enterprise quite suited to gentlemen of their complexion. Our colleges, if united on the subject, could bring the work to a completion. The association now existing, embracing many veteran reformers, will rejoice in their aid.

Old Tales Retold from Grecian Mythology in Talks Around the Fire. By AUGUSTA LARNED, author of "Home Stories," and "Talks with Girls." Fifteen Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 498. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The attempt of Miss Larned to render some features of the old Greek mythology intelligible and attractive to young people is highly commendable, connected as it is with historic and poetic literature, and her chosen method of conversations with a bright group of young nephews and nieces, invests the study with added interest. Twenty six delightful evenings purport to have been spent in this way, until the whole Grecian Pantheon is pretty well explored. But these stories of gods and goddesses had an origin and a meaning, and the discussion of these points really goes back to the origin of all idolatry. Doubtless what was at first pure poetry personifying the forces of nature, came in times of ignorance and departure from Jehovah to be regarded as actual truth, and the powers thus personified as actual beings to be reverenced and feared. Once started on this track the progress to the most abominable idolatries was rapid.

We do not quite agree with Miss Larned in all her interpretations of the Greek mythology, nor in the view she takes of it as a religious system. It had no tendency to lead men to God, but the reverse. It could not be a preparatory school for the Gospel, as we understand her to teach; nor do we think that in its light any found the invisible Jehovah, as the Introduction seems to say. It led away from him and shut him from their vision. The Greek philosophy, on the other hand, was such a preparative; but it first rejected, as false and perverting, the whole system of fable.

Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 *to* 1875. By Rev. A. W. MURRAY, of the London Missionary Society, author of "Missions in Western Polynesia." 12mo., pp. 509. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1876.

This is a minute and instructive picture of the real work of missions. In November, 1838, the author, with his wife and nine other missionaries, sent by the London Society, embarked on a small merchant vessel, and after a weary voyage of seven months landed at Tutuila, one of the Samoan, or Navigator's Islands. This group of

nine islands lies in the Pacific Ocean, about two thirds of the way from California to Australia, and nearly in a line between them. They have a population of, perhaps, thirty-five thousand, who in 1835 were utter savages, with the addition of a few white men, escaped convicts from Botany Bay, who were more depraved and dangerous than the heathen themselves. Here Mr. Murray lived and labored for thirty-five years, and was then appointed missionary in New Guinea, an island directly north of Australia, where he remained five years.

The story of these forty years is told with no remarkable vivacity or force, yet, as we judge, fully and faithfully. The romance of the enterprise vanished with the first sight of the degraded men and women whom they had come to save, and for the moment some of the missionaries felt that they had undertaken a great work without counting the cost. Still, they went on with their labor, and gained the victory. We commend the book to all who deem themselves called to go forth to the foreign field, and to all who are interested in it.

It is a motley history of good and evil, successes and failures, conversions and defections, war and peace, joy and sorrow, but of heroic endurance on the part of Christian men and women, and with all the ebbs and flows of the tide, of steady progress in the direction of civilization and Christianity.

Literature and Fiction.

Fridthjof's Saga. A Norse Romance. By ESAIAS TEGNER, Bishop of Wexiö. Translated from the Swedish by THOMAS A. E. HOLCOMB and MARTHA A. LYON HOLCOMB. 12mo., pp. 213. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

The English version of this celebrated poem by Professor Stephens, of the University of Copenhagen, as it appears in Professor Anderson's "Viking Tales of the North," has been mentioned in our notice of that work. We have in the present volume another version of it, and the first complete one by American translators. With no attempt to speak of its merit as a translation, we can well understand the worthiness of any honest effort in behalf of a poem which has appeared in many editions and styles, thrilled all Sweden, been translated into most European languages, and set to music as well. According to Bayard Taylor, none of the previous English versions have been satisfactory to Swedes; but this one, from its fidelity to the original measures, the feminine rhymes, and the alliteration, has an apparent promise of better success.

But, passing the questions of accuracy and comparative merit, the poem as here given is full of beauty and power, and must certainly rank with the grandest productions of modern times. Its purpose is to portray the old heroic age of the North, using the ancient tradition as a foundation only, and making Fridthjof, the high-minded and brave, the representative of a people and an epoch. One almost feels the fresh north wind as he reads, purifying and invigorating to both climate and character; and he will assuredly incline more to a reverential fear of Odin and Balder than of Zeus and Apollo.

Lectures on Courtship, Love, and Marriage. An Infallible Guide to a Happy Home. By WESLEY SMITH, author of "A Defense of the M. E. Church," "Smith on Baptism," "Our National Affairs," etc. 8vo., pp. 444. New York: Printed for the Author by Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

Mr. Smith is a piquant and original, though not a very classical, writer. His work abounds in fresh suggestions drawn from life. The evils he reprehends need check, and the principles he lays down should be the guide of life in the important and delicate matters he discusses. We recommend its perusal to the classes for whom it is written.

Periodicals.

President Hayes' Inaugural Address.

We congratulate the country on the election of President Hayes.

He is A STATESMAN OF UNIMPEACHABLE PURITY AND COMMANDING ABILITY. In his varied experience in the Army, in Congress, in the Executive Chair, and in the ordeal of a Presidential canvass, he has stood peerless and spotless, without fear and without reproach. Office has sought him, he has never sought office. Early in the canvass calumny undertook to assail him for a moment, but so elastic was the rebound upon the calumniator that even political lying was hushed into silence, if not into shame. Through the whole canvass his stainless purity and lofty independence were nobly maintained at every point. How mortifying a contrast to all this is exhibited by the base intriguer of Gramercy Park, the corruptest man, personally and politically, ever offered as candidate to the highest office in the nation's gift, with the single exception of Aaron Burr! As to President Hayes' ability, it is an amusing thing to hear taunts of his incompetency from that party, three of whose popular presidential candidates he beat in three successive elections to the executive chair of his own

State. Thurman, Pendleton, and Allen, three mighty Democratic chieftains, were in succession laid low by Rutherford B. Hayes, who is a nonentity! What nonentities must these three beaten competitors themselves be! and what a mass of imbecility the party must be whose mightiest men are demolished by said imbecile.

He is the choice of a large majority of the rightful voters of the country. This stands unquestionably true whether the Commission was impartial in its process or not. If that Commission could have gone with an omniscient eye to the bottom of the case, if it could have ascertained how every free, unintimidated, uncheated voter, black as well as white, would have cast his free suffrage, it would have found that *not only Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were for Hayes, but that Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia also, were for Hayes.* His opponents clamor very vociferously about "fraud" in Louisiana; but they can never drown their own consciousness that the most stupendous fraud, which has made the word "bull-dozing" a popular technic in our language, underlies every other fraud. However deep the Republican fraud there may have been, below its lowest deep is a lower depth of Democratic villainy, which aimed to crush the real Republican majority of legal voters in that State. The Republican frauds, if any there were, were the counteractive wrong against that far greater and previous wrong. The net result was right.

In our free North the majority for Hayes was, if we rightly recollect, two hundred and fifty thousand. And that body of free northern Republican voters is peerless in its intellectual and moral character. It is that body which, without invidious sectional comparison, we may fearlessly say is the nucleus of the nation: the *élite*, whose wealth, intelligence, enterprise, moral tone, and true Protestant Americanism, give character to our nation at home and abroad. To that body is opposed here in the North the unintelligence and the depravity that constitute the disgrace and danger of our great Republic. And yet the corrupt leaders of this corrupt mass are vociferating that General Hayes is "fraudulently elected," that he is "a minority President!" It is a bold and base untruth. If you speak of the wealth and moral worth, General Hayes is the choice of the great body of this true worth of the country. If you speak of mere *numbers*, withdraw the bull-doze and the white fraud, and *General Hayes is the choice of an overwhelming majority of the legal voters of the country.* President Hayes is the nation's rightful choice.

THE GOOD AND TRUE MEN OF BOTH SECTONS SHOULD UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER, AND UNITE THEIR FORCES. Smaller in number, yet embracing many of the noblest spirits of the earth, is a nucleus in the South between whom and the above-named moral *élite* of the North there is a true affinity, and there should be unity. The rebuke administered by the high-toned Democrats of the South to the treasonable, yet cowardly, threats of Northern Democrats in the late canvass, brings us a cheering proof that there is in the Southern heart a true allegiance to our national Union. The true aim of all true national patriots at the present time is to eliminate sectional issues from our political contests. A solid South against a solid or nearly solid North is a national danger and misfortune. In such a contest the South, unless clearly right, will be the usual loser. The single State of New York, usually Republican, could in the last contest have elected Hayes against a completely "solid South."

To our call for "a parley" on this subject in our last Quarterly, the "Southern Christian Advocate" responded in a candid notice of that number. It assents, if our recollection is accurate, to "a parley" provided we dismiss the Negro from discussion. That we can most cheerfully concede as our part of the compromise of peace, conditioned, of course, on a correspondent concession from the Southern side. That required Southern concession is simply that *the Negro be treated in a Christian manner.* Nor will we be exacting in our definition of this *Christian manner.* Nay, we will agree that the following definition, by Governor Drew of Florida, a Southerner and Democrat, shall be the standard. We take it from his late message to the Florida Legislature:—

The general dissemination of knowledge is a fundamental principle in a representative form of government, based upon universal suffrage. The sentiment that education and other privileges are suited to the few and not to the many, is not of this land of freedom, but is of foreign birth and monarchical parentage.

The very existence of our republic depends upon the intelligence and moral sentiment of those who exercise the right of suffrage. The experience of all civilized nations has demonstrated that it is cheaper to build school-houses and maintain schools, than to build poor-houses and jails and support paupers and criminals. Those opposed to free schools claim that it is unjust for the taxpayer to furnish means to educate the children of the non-taxpayer. Is it a greater hardship to pay tax to establish schools and to prevent crime, than to pay a greater tax to build penitentiaries and punish criminals? The public free school system is no longer an experiment in those States where it has long been established and its successful operation fully demonstrated.

Now that a very large constituent element of our population is released from bondage and intrusted with the power of the ballot, a system of free schools has become a means of self-preservation. To educate the colored race, and fit them to exercise the privilege of voting intelligently—to perform all the sacred rights

of freemen, to enjoy their liberty, to become wise and good citizens—imposes upon us a task to perform, a responsibility from which we cannot escape. Then let us set about the work cheerfully.

The adoption of that platform, Negro education and the honest observance of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, will give the Negro a walking paper out of sectional discussion.

The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. January, 1877. Large 12mo., pp. 80. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, City Road. Price, sixpence.

This, the oldest extant of Methodist periodicals, has attained its centennial year, and chats to us in a lively way its autobiography. It is just one year younger than our own American nationality. It is, under a changed name, the historical continuation of the Arminian Magazine, established by Wesley himself in 1778. The Magazine for January thus gives account of its own birth:—

"The Arminian Magazine" was originated by Mr. Wesley, in the year 1778, principally as an engine of polemical theology. It was much more a sword than a trowel. The preface to the first number announced it as designed to take the place of "The Christian Magazine," which had collapsed, and to oppose "The Spiritual Magazine" and "The Gospel Magazine," which had sprung up in its place. It was born armed, out of the busy brain of Wesley. Its controversial design was proclaimed in its title—"The Arminian Magazine." The preface was not merely a manifesto, but a distinct declaration of war. The very poetry—for a time composed almost exclusively by the Wesley family—was principally directed to polemical purposes: its muse, like an Amazon, preferring the trumpet to the lyre. Mr. Wesley did not leave it to win a market solely by its merits, but printed it "by subscription." It was to contain eighty pages, (the same number as the present,) its price being one shilling. It in fact only contained fifty pages—the first number forty-eight. It announced its resolve to admit neither news nor politics. Methodism had long felt the need of a literary organ of its own. For nearly forty years before he consented, Wesley had been "desired" to publish such a periodical. He and his brother were the conjoint editors, but for the first two years the ardent and poetic Thomas Olivers was the tryingly incompetent sub-editor, or "corrector of the press." Reviews were excluded, because the candid, conscientious, humble-minded Wesley would "not be bound to read over all the present religious productions of the press," and *scrupled* his own sufficiency for the work; and, it seems, knew no one to whom he could confide the reviewing department. (Pp. 1, 2.)

Then we are thus told how Wesley inserted some light literature, and how the straight-out Methodists did not like it:—

One very noteworthy point, and highly characteristic of Wesley, is that he admits, after the first few numbers, a considerable proportion of merely sentimental poetry, refined and elegant, but with not the slightest infusion of positive Christianity. A signal instance of this was the filling fourteen pages, of forty-eight, with Prior's metrical love-tale, *Henry and Emma.* In answer to the outcry against this, he admits that it is "not strictly religious," yet vindicated its insertion on the ground of its exquisite sentiment and diction, and the facts that "there is nothing in it contrary to religion, nothing that can offend the chastest ears, and that many truly religious men and women have profited thereby." Certainly it contains nothing un-Arminian. Wesley evidently held that if elegant entertainment is of the very essence of a *magazine*, nothing is out of place, even in a religious, a *Methodist* Magazine, which can powerfully please, without polluting or per-

verting. As to literary aliment, he seems to have adopted the old dietetic maxim, "Whatever does not poison fattens." Few will dissent from Wesley's judgment that *Henry and Emma* is "one of the finest poems in the English tongue, both for sentiment and language;" but to characterize it as "not *strictly* religious," is scarcely to give an exact description of it, since the only religious element it contains is purely pagan. Had it been produced by one of the popular poets of our own day, and sent to *Good Words*, its late illustrious editor would doubtless have inserted it with artistic illustrations; perhaps not without a momentary demur at its classic heathenism. The lamented Guthrie would certainly have forbidden it the "Sunday Magazine," and the Religious Tract Society would have deemed it hardly suitable for the "Leisure Hour." But by publishing a metrical romance side by side with the Life of an Early Methodist Preacher and one of his own letters on Christian Perfection, he definitely, though not definitively, acted on the principle adopted by most modern religious periodicals. On the other hand, by the strong, and not surprising, protest which the Methodists made against its appearance under such auspices they both definitely and definitively rejected and discarded from Methodist literature the unreligious novel, whether in prose or verse. A religious novel, Wesley's very imperfectly expurgated edition of "The Fool of Quality," under the quieter title, "Henry, Earl of Moreland," published the very next year—a highly sensational anticipation of "Tom Brown's School Days," combined with a sort of mildly religious "Vanity Fair"—had a quite sufficiently wide, warm, and long-lasting Methodist popularity.

It is clear that the demur of the Methodists generally to the insertion of "Henry and Emma" in their Magazine was not to its purely imaginative character, but to the absence of the religious spirit. In any case, Wesley himself held the same view of the marvelous creative faculty with which the human imagination is endowed, which his brother Charles held as to music: that it

> "—Alas! too long hath been—
> Why should a good be evil?—
> 'Listed into the cause of sin,
> Press'd to obey the devil."

The well-intentioned novel to which Wesley stood godfather he left to the care of the conference. It bore the imprimatur of the Methodist Book-Room, and was entered on its catalogues during a full generation after Wesley's death. It was immeasurably inferior in tone and tendency to the writings of Mrs. Charles, "Sarson," and "Ruth Elliott," and its prurient descriptions of scenes of vice were very perilous to young people of ignitible imagination. (Pp. 2–4.)

In 1804 Joseph Benson, "the most powerful popular preacher of the day, and next, perhaps, to Coke, the foremost man in Methodism," was appointed chief editor, with three assistants. This plentiful supply of aid implied that "the office was meant to be, to some extent, a canonry, leaving him ample leisure for the writing of his Commentary." Even in those early days an editor was allowed—nay, provision was made for him—to be a commentator.

Benson retained the editorship until his death in 1821, and was succeeded by "the topmost man in conference," Jabez Bunting. "The great Methodist leader at once initiated a 'new series' of the Magazine. The word *Wesleyan* is prefixed to *Methodist* on the title-page." Who abolished the original "Arminian" we are not informed, but it was unwisely done. It was quite a heroism in Wesley to unfurl the name of Arminius at the head of his craft. That illustrious name even those who held the great

theologian's doctrines did not yet dare to properly revere and honor. And we regret that this true and noble successor of Wesley's original monthly has not borne its hereditary name.

The following eloquent paragraph describes the spirit in which the Magazine was first established:—

> The first point that strikes one is the controversial—one might rather say, the chivalrous—aspect, accouterment and bearing of the Magazine of Methodism. Never did knight of the ages of romance, after holy vigils and solemn rites, ride forth more gallantly to redress wrong and champion civilization and religion than did the "Arminian Magazine" come "pricking o'er the plain" to confront and confound error, evil, and the powers of night. It did not merely stand in the lists, challenging all comers with lance in rest; but its bugle-blast smote with defiant resonance against the strongholds of godlessness and misbelief, and it drove *full tilt* against the giant heresies, the monster mischiefs, and the stalking specters of the age. Is there less need now than then of valor for the truth upon the earth; of earnest contention "for the faith once delivered unto the saints?" Is our latter-day unbelief, is our current error, less insolent, less confident, less seductive, less determined, less subtle, less equipped? Assuredly these are no times for a faithful witnessing Church to suppress or soften its trenchant testimony for "the truth as it is in Jesus." The present humor of unbelief is to compliment Christ out of his divine authority; to rob him, on the one hand, of his redeeming mediatorship, and, on the other, of his rights as a Revealer and a Ruler; to reject his sacrifice on Calvary in favor of his Sermon on the Mount; or to hail him as a Redeemer, and repudiate him as the sternest of all Denouncers of impenitent unbelief.

Though a centenarian, the Magazine is still young, and ready for another century. Those of our readers who wish to maintain a communion with English Methodism will scarce find a fitter medium than this fresh and living periodical.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Christliche Glaubenslehre vom Methodistischen Stand-punkt, (Methodist Dogmatics.) By A. SULZBERGER, Ph.D. Bremen and Frankfurt. 1876.

Methodism is not destined to be long without a plentiful supply of systems of Dogmatics. The one able, elaborate work of Watson has well sufficed us for the whole crystallizing period of our existence. But in the nature of the case it could not suffice us forever. Self-respect, if no higher imperative were needed, would prompt us to show that we have not yet passed out of our period of productiveness into that of stagnant old age. And this "would" is in fair way of rapidly becoming an abundant "is." Already two of our German scholars have published in the German tongue the first-fruits of profound dogmatic study. And our three American preachers' Seminaries are following in the wake of the German. So that very soon we shall be able to see whether, indeed, we still possess throughout the whole Church a close dogmatic unity, or whether, as assumed by the Princeton Review

for October, 1876, we are suffering under "doctrinal flexibility" with a "drift in some directions toward Broad Churchism."

Dr. Sulzberger is in advance of his competitors in getting the main body of his Dogmatics before the public. In the January issue of this Review for 1873, we briefly noted the appearance of his Introduction (of some 189 pages.) We now have before us the whole work (680 small octavo pages) except the Eschatology, which, the author promises us, shall not be long in appearing.

The work of Dr. Sulzberger will not fall dead from the press. His constituency of German Methodist preachers requires the book, even were there no other call for it. But there are also two other calls for it;—to acquaint foreign theologians with the views of Methodism, and to enrich our English Methodist doctrinal teaching with the scientific rigor and soundness of recent German investigation. All three of these ends Dr. Sulzberger has kept steadily in view. His work is simple, practical, thorough. It is faithfully Methodistic, abundantly corroborating itself from Wesley, Fletcher, Watson. It is catholic and broad, using richly the great thoughts of the Fathers, as also those of Nitzsch, Sartorius, Ullmann, Hagenbach, Stier, Müller, Tholuck, Rothe, Martensen, Schaff, Pressensé, Whedon, Nast, and others. It is also eminently historical, briefly and clearly tracing the progressive development of the several doctrines.

After an elaborate introduction (150 pages) Dr. Sulzberger distributes his subject-matter into these four parts:—

I. Of God as Creator, and of the relation of the creature to God.

II. Of God as Redeemer, and of the redemption of man.

III. Of God as the Accomplisher of salvation, and of salvation itself.

IV. Of the last things, or eschatology.

The sections in Part First run thus: Theology, the Knowledge, the Existence, the Essence, the Attributes of God, the Natural, the Moral Attributes; the Trinity, Analogical and Metaphysical Explanations, Scripture Proof; the Divinity of the Father, Son, and Spirit; History of the Doctrine of the Trinity; Creation, the Mosaic Account, the Providence of God; the Creature, Angels, the Nature of Angels, Good and Bad Angels, Satanology; Primitive Man, the Fall, Depravity, the Stages of Sin, History of the Doctrine. Part Second has these sections: God's Purpose of Redemption, Preparation, Christ the Theanthropic Redeemer, his true Humanity, his Sinlessness, the Incarnation of the Logos, the Unity of the Theanthropic Nature of Christ, Scripture Proof, Histo-

ry of the Doctrine; the Relation of Christ's Work to his Person, his Prophetic, his High Priestly Office, History of the Doctrine of the Atonement, the Twofold Condition of Christ, his Resurrection, his Ascension. Part Third is discussed in these sections: Soteriology, Prevenient Grace, the Gift and Influence of the Spirit, the Relation of the Influence of the Spirit to Man's Freedom, the Order of Salvation, Calling, Enlightening, Awakening, Conversion, Repentance, Faith, Justification, Regeneration, the Witness of the Spirit, Sanctification.

This outline shows how thoroughly the field is covered. Whether the classification has not too much of characteristic German subdividing is an open question. We regret it as a more pardonable fault to divide too little than too much; as nothing tends more to confusion in theology no less than in metaphysics, than the discussing of the various phases of *one* thing as if they were different things.

Let us glance at some of the positions of Dr. Sulzberger: How to reconcile absolute divine foreknowledge with creatural freedom is a very difficult problem. Two ways out of the difficulty have been, either to suppress the foreknowledge, or to deny the freedom. Cicero did the former; the Stoics, the latter. A few mediæval scholastics and the modern Socinians follow Cicero, saying that God knows free creatural actions only when they actually take place; but this undermines the dogma of foreknowledge. Origen, Augustine, Anselm, Wesley, Schleiermacher, Nitzsch, unanimously hold that God foreknows the free *as* free.

The trinity is not a mere historical, transient, economical distinction, but is grounded in the eternal essence of God.

Creating is the bringing into existence of that which previously did not exist. Creating was not a necessary, but a free act of God. The assumption of a necessary creation leads inevitably to Pantheism. A necessity of creating cannot be inferred from God's *need* of an object to love. What God has needed for his love, he has already from eternity generated out of his own essence, namely: the eternal Logos.

To what end did God create the world? Two one-sided answers have been given. Calvinists say, solely for his own glory; eudæmonists say, solely for the happiness of the creature. The true answer co-ordinates both of these answers into one.

The process of creating has not gone on from eternity, but began definitely in a "beginning." (We regret to see Dr. Sulzberger answering the very natural query: What had God been doing

in the vast eternity before the beginning of the world? with the poor witticism of Luther: He had been sitting in the woods, cutting rods for impertinent questioners.)

God's sustaining or preserving of the universe is not, as old dogmatizers hold, a continued creation (*creatio continua*). For creating is bringing forth out of nothing. Preservation can here mean only a supporting, developing, and modifying of that which already *was*.

The laws of nature are ordinances of God, which he freely can and does change when the higher interests of moral creatures require it. God's government over nature is determinative; over moral beings, directive; over evil beings, permissive.

Inherited depravity is not personal guilt. No one is, or can be, justly damned because of his ancestor's sin.

Jesus Christ passed through the ordinary human development, from infant to child, to youth, to man. As child, he was ignorant of that which, as boy, he surmised; and as youth, he distinctly saw; and as man, he fully comprehended. In proportion as he grew up to full self-consciousness, he became also conscious of his relation to the Father; and in proportion as he grew in comprehension of the world, he grew also in comprehension of his unique, holy, and redeeming relation to humanity.

What is the nature of the person of Christ? To say that the divine Logos imparted omnipotence, omniscience, etc., to the human nature which he assumed, is to reduce his humanity to mere appearance. To say that he possessed all these divine attributes, but forwent their exercise, is also to deny the truly human nature of Christ. To say that while Christ, *as* the omnipotent and omniscient God, upheld and governed the world, he yet, *as* man, grew up from ignorance to knowledge, and learned obedience in a truly human manner, is to so destroy the unity of his person as to justify Dr. Nast in declaring that such a view is hardly better than ancient Nestorianism. Such a separating of the attributes of the theanthropic Mediator is not found in the New Testament. On the contrary, every dividing of the Redeemer into two *egos*, the one the exalted Logos, and the other the humble man, is directly contrary to clear Scripture. Modern orthodox theologians find a more satisfactory view in the *kenosis* that is involved in the text: "The Word became flesh." Christ did *not* lay aside, nor forego to use, his divine attributes, but he simply manifested them in a truly human manner. Even as when a man quits the light of day and goes into thick darkness, he does not lose his

power of vision, so the Logos did not *lose* his divine powers when he descended into the limitations of human nature. Such a *kenosis*, says Luthardt, as relates to the mere earthly condition of Christ, is indispensable to a truly human life in Jesus.

The atonement consists in the fact that Christ, the sinless One, freely took upon himself the consequences of sin. His death was not inflicted upon him by a few Jews and Romans, but was, in fact, the culminating work of the collective sinfulness of humanity as a whole. It is neither the passive suffering by itself, nor the active obedience, that atones, but both together. The value of Christ's death of suffering lay more in its quality than in its quantity. The intensive element of his passion lay in the *feeling* of abandonment by the Father. Every form of Jewish and heathen sin had conspired against him. Between him and the Father, the sin, the darkness of the world, had thrust itself, and had thus paralyzed his *sense* of blessedness. But the suffering which he endured was foreign to his nature. What he suffered was, therefore, the absolute pain of sin, but *not* its punishment. *He suffered, but he was not punished.*

Conversion and regeneration are not identical. Conversion is that act of the sinner whereby, under the continued activity of the Holy Spirit, he, with an earnest will-effort, and with his whole heart, turns away from sin and cleaves to God. Its conditions are, repentance of sin and faith in God through Christ. The sinner cannot be converted against his will, nor without his personal participation in the work. Regeneration, on the contrary, is a divine act attendant upon conversion, whereby the fruitful germs of a holy development are implanted into the repentant soul. The *modus* of this implantation, Mr. Sulzberger frankly admits, is beyond his comprehension; but the fact he holds fast to, under the testimony both of Scripture and of experience.

On the whole we regard this dogmatic attempt as a clear success. The author is admirably conservative, admirably judicious, admirably clear. He has wisely resisted the temptation to over self-reliance, and to hasty innovations. He is a safe guide for the young preachers of our widely-extended German Methodism. And we are not sure but that it would have a healthy effect to dress him up in English, and publish him alongside of the more ponderous works which are soon to issue from our English-American press.

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Miscellaneous.

Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume. By Rev. B. H. BADLEY, of the American Methodist Mission. Large 12mo., pp. 279. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

This is a catalogue of all the missionaries who have labored in India, with very brief biographical notices of many of them. It begins with the first Danish Mission, in 1705, and extends to the present time. We count no less than twenty-eight missionary societies who have contributed laborers to this vast field, from various nations and denominations. It thus furnishes an outline and a reference book, but with little of the attractions of a history.

Sermons on Living Subjects. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 8vo., pp. 468. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

Epochs of Ancient History. The Trumvirates. By CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. With a Map. Pp. 248. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People. An Account of Expeditions to the Lake Victoria Nyanza and the Makraka Niam-Niam, West of the Bahr-el-Abiad, (White Nile.) By Col. C. CHAILLE LONG, of the Egyptian Staff. Illustrated from Colonel Long's own Sketches. 8vo., pp. 328. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1877.

A Princess of Thule. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of "The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton," "Madcap Violet," "A Daughter of Heth," "The Maid of Killeena," "Green Pastures and Piccadilly," etc. 8vo., pp. 464. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

A Ride to Khiva. Travels and Adventures in Central Asia. By FRED BURNABY, (Captain Royal Horse Guards.) With Maps, and an Appendix containing, among other information, a series of march routes, compiled from a Russian work. 8vo., pp. 403. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Weavers and Weft; or, "Love that hath us in his Net." By Miss BRADDON, author of "Lady Audley's Secret," "A Strange World," "Bound to John Company," "Dead Men's Shoes." 8vo., pp. 91. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877.

The Golden Butterfly. A Novel. By the Authors of "Ready-Money Mortiboy," "When the Ship Comes Home," etc. Pp. 167. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Annie Warwick. A Novel. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK, author of "Mildred," "Sylvia's Choice," "The Cousin from India," "Miss Moore." Pp. 104. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

The Sun-Maid. A Romance. By the Author of "Artiste," "Victor Lescar," etc., etc. Pp. 145. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Madcap Violet. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of "The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton," "Princess of Thule," "A Daughter of Heth," "Kilmeny," "The Monarch of Mincing Lane," etc. Pp. 259. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Dancing as an Amusement, considered in the Light of the Scriptures, of Christian Experience, and of Good Taste. 8vo., pp. 79. By BOSTWICK HAWLEY, D.D. New York: N. Tibballs & Sons. 1877. 1

Liver Complaint, Nervous Dyspepsia, and Headache: their Causes, Prevention, and Cure. By M. L. HOLBROOK. M.D., editor of the "Herald of Health," author of "Parturition Without Pain," and "Eating for Strength." 8vo., pp. 141. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1876.